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# HINTS

FOR THE

CONSIDERATION OF PARLIAMENT,

IN A

LETTER TO DR. JENNER,

ON THE

Supposed Failures of Vaccination

AT

RINGWOOD;

INCLUDING

*A Report of the Royal Jennerian Society*

ON THAT SUBJECT, AFTER A

CAREFUL PUBLIC INVESTIGATION UPON THE SPOT;

ALSO CONTAINING

REMARKS ON THE PREVALENT ABUSE

OF

Variolous Inoculation,

AND ON THE

DREADFUL EXPOSURE OF OUT-PATIENTS

ATTENDING AT

THE SMALL-POX HOSPITAL.

---

BY WILLIAM BLAIR,

Surgeon of the Lock Hospital and Asylum, the Bloomsbury Dispensary, and New Rupture Society, &c. Member of the Royal College of Surgeons, and of the Medical Societies of London, Paris, Brussels, Aberdeen, &c. &c. &c.

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That which I have seen I will declare.—Job.

LONDON:

Printed for J. CALLOW, Crown Court, Princes Street, Soho: sold by HATCHARD, Piccadilly; MURRAY, Fleet Street; COX, St. Thomas's Street, Borough; and the other Booksellers.

1808.





*Willm Long Esq<sup>r</sup>*

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S. GOSNELL, Printer, Little Queen Street.





## P R E F A C E.

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My first design in writing these pages was, to expose the unfair and mischievous conduct of an anonymous author who had published a false account of the supposed failures of vaccination at Ringwood, in one of our most popular Journals. My second motive was, to communicate such information relative to these numerous cases, as could not properly be given by the Directors of the Royal Jennerian Society, and yet might be expected from an individual in my situation.

When I had printed above thirty pages, a fresh scene opened to my view : for, I discovered that the attack which had been recently made on vaccination was not of an ordinary kind, nor by a common or insignificant hand ; but that it had been contrived and conducted with so much subtilty, per-

severance, and effect, as to have awakened the public attention, and most shamefully deceived those who enquired after the real facts.

Several popular engines were employed by the same person, at the same time, to accomplish his evident object : a serious pamphlet—a satirical paper—a vulgar placard—a ludicrous hand-bill—and various devices for the circulation of each, combined to excite a general and serious alarm !\* The ultimate and avowed intention of all this was, to call for the interference of the Legislature, and to hold up the late Report of the Royal College of Physicians to universal contempt. †

When I had nearly finished my observations upon this unprecedented misconduct in

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\* Among the uncommon contrivances for distributing Mr. Birch's publications on the Ringwood cases, is that of employing an *errand cart*, whose driver gives them indiscriminately to travellers, upon the roads near London ! A Clergyman saw this done on Shooter's Hill.

† See my extracts from Mr. Birch's Narrative, pp. 135, 136, 171, 177, 185, 193.

an *Hospital-Surgeon*, another subject commanded my attention. A truly respectable and well-known gentleman hinted to me, that some Members in both Houses of Parliament had listened to a single example of disaster, stated to have arisen from the practice of inoculating OUT-PATIENTS at the Small-pox Hospital. It struck my mind forcibly, that if an interest had been so easily excited, and a degree of jealousy raised by *one case*, it must be still more important to disclose the whole system now pursued at that Institution. I therefore immediately resolved to publish a full and faithful comment on the assertion which had been made by Mr. Birch, that “*the Small-pox Hospital was converted into a Cow-pox Station.*” ‡

In the course of my remarks, a most deplorable picture is given of the present horrid management of that Charity, and the total dereliction of its former beneficial purposes! This portion of my volume, in particular, is

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‡ See pp. 184, 186, 215, to the end of my remarks.



that which I humbly submit to the candid consideration of those who alone can effectually remedy so great a national evil. It may appear to have been almost presumptuous in so obscure an individual as myself, to offer any hints to the highest Tribunal in the kingdom. But, when I remembered how many great events have originated from the most inadequate beginnings, and how momentous this subject was to the whole nation, I could not refrain from making an honest attempt to direct the eye of men in power towards so extensive a source of calamity. ! Perhaps too, I might be encouraged by the hope, that ere long some patriotic Member of Parliament would deliberately consider the answer received to a late enquiry, made in compliance with an Address to His Majesty from the House of Commons, What causes impede the practice of vaccine inoculation in the United Kingdom? Is it of any benefit to have assigned those causes, if no strenuous effort be made for their removal? Ten years have nearly elapsed since vaccination began in England; and yet, it is

so far from being now generally adopted, that our unwise countrymen, especially in London, discourage its use, and still spread the various pestilence, even more actively and widely than they did before Parliament had instituted this important enquiry !

“ The College of Physicians” (as they said twelve months ago) “ conceive that the  
“ public may reasonably look forward with  
“ some degree of hope to the time when all  
“ opposition shall cease, and the general con-  
“ currence of mankind shall at length be  
“ able to put an end to the ravages at least,  
“ if not to the existence, of the small-pox.”

This most desirable consummation, I fear, is not very likely to happen in the present age ; and it certainly can never be reasonably expected, while one of our Hospitals is allowed to pour forth, year by year, several thousand infected patients into the heart of the British metropolis !

A Member of Parliament,\* in the debate

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\* Mr. Baring.

on Dr. Jenner's reward, very justly observed, that "this country was in the singular situation of having discovered an antidote against the poison of the small-pox, and yet is the last to have so used that antidote as to put an end to the sad effects of the poison."—Another Honourable Member† truly declared, "that the benefits of this invention have been more extensively felt in every other country than in our own, which has given it birth: for, in other countries, the disorder of the small-pox has been already exterminated."—A third Member‡ said, that "if we were to prescribe a mode of spreading the contagion of small-pox, it would be difficult for human ingenuity to devise any thing better adapted for that purpose than to inoculate out-patients at the Small-pox Hospital, to the amount of two thousand in a year, and for these out-patients to resort there twice a week to be inspected."—It was also remarked by another Member§,

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† Mr. Fuller.    ‡ Mr. S. Bourne.    § Mr. E. Morris.



“ that this charitable establishment may have  
“ been a *pest* instead of a benefit to mankind;  
“ multiplying the number of victims, and  
“ creating the disease where perhaps it would  
“ not otherwise have existed.” Of this melancholy fact, I have given abundant proofs in the following pages.

It will be learnt, with astonishment, that *four thousand five hundred and ninety-four* persons were inoculated at the Hospital in the year 1807, a number sufficient to disseminate the variolous PLAGUE throughout all the world ! This unprecedented exertion to diffuse the disease has occurred too, after a worthy Governor of that Institution \* had expressed his belief, in the House of Commons, “ that the Directors of the Small-pox Hospital do not now practise any but the vaccine inoculation ; and if they do, it is a proper subject for legislative authority.”— Another patriotic Member † suggested, that the public ought to be “ secured against the

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\* Mr. I. H. Browne.

† Mr. Wilberforce.

“ effects of this contagion, in the same manner as is done in the case of the plague.” In reply to which, it was admitted by one of the then Secretaries of State \*, that “ the Legislature of any country may be well entitled to adopt compulsory measures, to prevent contagious maladies from spreading.” And the present Chancellor of the Exchequer † acknowledged, “ that it is our duty to preserve life ; and that the preservation of life included a care to prevent, as much as possible, those diseases by which that life is shortened.”

Will not these Guardians of the public welfare now see it is high time to exercise that great national duty, of protecting us against a dreadful “ pestilence which walketh by noon day” and ANNUALLY DESTROYS ABOUT FIFTY THOUSAND BRITISH SUBJECTS ? The multiform and unwearied efforts which a few individuals are daily making to propagate this destructive pestilence, can be successfully opposed in no other way than by the aid of wise, humane, and restrictive laws.

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\* Mr. Windham.

† Mr. Perceval.

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## CORRECTIONS.

In the Note at page 217, I have given an account of some years, during last century, in which the small-pox killed above 3000 persons in London, agreeably to the general bills of mortality; not including those deaths which happened in the parishes of Mary-le-bone and St. Pancras, &c. &c. containing 118,000 inhabitants. I copied that account from a list printed by Dr. Willan, according to a statement drawn up for him by Dr. Woodville. But, on making further examination, I find his Table to be very erroneous and defective: so that I beg leave to substitute the following; wherein I have added the total number of deaths, from every cause, as well as those by the small-pox, in each year.

<i>A. D.</i>		<i>Total Deaths.</i>		<i>By Sm. Pox.</i>
1710	—	24,620	—	3,138
1719	—	28,347	—	3,229
1725	—	25,523	—	3,188
1736	—	27,581	—	3,014
1746	—	28,157	—	3,236
1752	—	20,485	—	3,538
1757	—	21,313	—	3,296
1763	—	26,143	—	3,583
1768	—	25,639	—	3,028
1772	—	26,053	—	3,992
1796	—	19,288	—	3,548

Page 238, fourth line of the NOTE, instead of nineteen of sixty-four, read nineteen out of eighty-five.

At page 260, lines 21 and 29, for thirty years, read twenty years.

A

# LETTER

TO

DOCTOR JENNER.

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MY DEAR SIR,

*Great Russel Street,  
Bloomsbury.*

ALTHOUGH I have not been, as you know, an indifferent spectator of the controversies respecting the cow-pock practice, and am not ignorant of the means employed by some of the combatants who are unfriendly to vaccination ; yet, I must confess, that my opinion of human nature, and of the motives by which men in eminent stations are generally influenced, did not lead me to expect any action so precipitate, so unfair, so disingenuous, and so manifestly alarming to the public, as that I am now about to submit to your attention.

You will agree with me, that it is the bounden duty of every medical gentleman to

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do his utmost toward improving the art he professes, as well as to expose and resist the disorderly attempts of unqualified and irregular pretenders to superior knowledge ; but a blind zeal, actuated chiefly by selfish principles, and not exercised with uprightness, sincerity, decorum, justice, and truth, is calculated to degrade the art of healing, and to put its practitioners on a level with the lowest class of empirics.

Hardly will it be credited, my dear Sir, that an opposer of vaccination who professes to “ seek for truth, and truth alone,”—who declares, that “ when convinced of error, he shall take a pride in acknowledging his mistake,”—who boldly avows that “ all he has written has been couched in the language of seriousness and candour \*,”—and who holds such an elevated rank in the profession as might entitle him to unlimited confidence,—that this very man, in his eagerness to propa-

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\* See pp. 19, 20, and 22, of “ *Serious Reasons for uniformly opposing Vaccination*,” London 1807 ; by JOHN BIRCH, Esq. Surgeon of St. Thomas’s Hospital, Surgeon Extraordinary to the Prince of Wales, and one of the Court of Assistants to the Royal College of Surgeons in London.



gate a report, most deeply painful if true, and most lamentably injurious if false, should discover no reluctance to giving it the greatest possible publicity, even before he had authenticated or carefully examined its foundation. So rash a deed has, nevertheless, been recently perpetrated; and it has been perpetrated, Sir, under circumstances peculiarly aggravating.

Surely you will here exclaim, "An enemy hath done this!" Yes, "an enemy" to vaccination, that benign substitute for a direful and wasting plague; "an enemy" to the salutary practice which has at length been generally approved and adopted, for the prevention or total extinction of the small-pox; "an enemy" who, even now, can openly boast, that he has "never vaccinated any person himself," though he has incautiously deviated so far from the line of duty as to "attend several who have been vaccinated\*;" "an enemy" who dares to urge in the face of an humane and enlightened people, as one of his "SERIOUS REA-

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\* See Mr. Birch's Answer to the first Query of the Royal College of Surgeons in London.

SONS" for continuing the small-pox inoculation, " THAT IN THE POPULOUS PART  
 " OF THE METROPOLIS, WHERE THE  
 " ABUNDANCE OF CHILDREN EXCEED  
 " THE MEANS OF PROVIDING FOOD AND  
 " RAIMENT FOR THEM, THIS PESTILEN-  
 " TIAL DISEASE IS CONSIDERED AS A  
 " MERCIFUL PROVISION ON THE  
 " PART OF PROVIDENCE, TO LESSEN  
 " THE BURTHEN OF A POOR MAN'S FA-  
 " MILY \*." This, Sir, is the " enemy" to  
 whom I allude; and who has the assurance,  
 in the year 1807, to tell the readers of his  
 " SERIOUS REASONS,"—" THE SALE  
 " OF THAT PAMPHLET CONVINCES HIM  
 " THE PUBLIC ARE SATISFIED THE AR-  
 " GUMENTS IT CONTAINS ARE JUST,"  
 —a criterion which the basest infidels in  
 Christendom might assign, with equal con-  
 fidence and plausibility, in proof of their  
 mischievous principles!

This " enemy,"—who " always writes  
 in the language of seriousness and candour,"  
 who diligently " seeks for truth, and truth  
 alone," and therefore would " take a pride

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\* " Serious Reasons," page 28, second edition, 1807,

in acknowledging his mistake,"—cannot agree with the College of Physicians, "*that the Jennerian practice is perfectly safe when properly conducted, and is highly deserving the encouragement of the public.*" For this scepticism and unbelief, he may perhaps be pardoned; seeing that he is wholly destitute of experience himself, and does not choose "to pin his faith on other men's sleeves." But, while he is so cautious to avoid SCYLLA, he takes no pains to shun CHARIBDIS; in consequence of which inconsistency, he is carried away by every idle rumour against vaccination, and eagerly catches at the tale he loves.

Unhappily, an occasion recently offered itself to try this gentleman's liberality of sentiment and patience of investigation; for an individual (whose name I shall at present conceal) communicated to him the sad reports which were generally current at Ringwood and its vicinity, in Hampshire. No one can doubt, that these statements were made with all the fidelity and truth in which an unprofessional person could be expected to recite them: but as this narrative was big with the most woeful events, and seemed

likely to astonish all the world, except the sworn foes of the cow-pox, Mr. B. wisely determined to enquire of an intelligent medical gentleman upon the very spot respecting "the circumstances of this melancholy matter, so much like what had happened in a lesser degree at other places \*." For that precautionary and candid step, we must undoubtedly commend him; but, you scarcely will believe, that his pregnant brain could not hold in its contents till the answer to his letter arrived, or even had been written! He took one step right forward, as it were, to the Temple of Truth; when its effulgent rays so dazzled him, that he returned to his beaten track again, and determined to proceed without light or guide to the end of his dismal journey. After such a perverse and retrograde movement, you may suppose he would grope and blunder unpitied; though he must have foreseen, that he would inevitably entail the most distressing consequences upon those who should be unguardedly misled by his example.

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\* In Mr. Birch's Letter to Mr. Westcott, dated at Spring Gardens, December 29th, 1807, he says, this affair "does not surprise, excepting as to its mass."



Mr. Westcott, one of the surgeons at Ringwood, to whom Mr. Birch applied for particular information relative to "the circumstances" of the supposed failures of the cow-pox, made no scruple of shewing that gentleman's letter (of December 29th) to different persons : and indeed, there could be no reason why he should withhold its contents, as Mr. Birch's object would necessarily appear to be highly praise-worthy.

The motives assigned by him for writing were, that various stories are circulating in London respecting the unfortunate results of vaccination at Ringwood, and that Mr. Westcott had formerly transmitted to the College of Surgeons a "very candid and honourable representation" of three cases of failure ; so that Mr. Birch had a just right to conclude favourably of this surgeon's regard to truth, however adverse it happened to be to his own wishes, and to the general opinion of medical men respecting the Jennerian practice.

In this letter, a statement was given by Mr. Birch of the current report, exactly agreeing with that which he presently afterward inserted in the *Morning Post* : then fol-



lowed some observations about the insecurity of the cow-pox, and the probability of several vaccinating societies in London soon coming to an end. He concluded with a repetition of his request, that Mr. Westcott would detail the important facts, so variously reported.

You will now desire to see (if you have not already seen) what kind of a statement appeared in the *Morning Post*, of Friday the 1st of January, to which Mr. Birch subjoined his initials; and the author of which is freely avowed at the News-office, facing Somerset House, in the Strand.

I ought, however, first to tell you, that Mr. Westcott openly declared, the three unsuccessful cases he had communicated to the College were *not* (as he once supposed) attributable to any fault or defect in vaccination, when properly managed, but to other causes; and Mr. W. assured me, he would immediately write so to Mr. Birch himself: also, in a letter of his, dated January 10, 1808, being a reply to some inquiries recently made by me, he says, “ *Mr. Birch must now be convinced, by my answer to his letter, that his*

*statement is DIRECTLY WRONG, respecting the failure of vaccination at Ringwood; and you are at perfect liberty to make use of my name, in any manner you may think proper, to convince the world that Mr. Birch has asserted a FALSEHOOD."*

I shall here subjoin the false and cruel paragraph from the Morning Post of Jan. 1st.

### " VACCINATION.

" Upon the delicate subject of this system of inoculation, we have ever carefully avoided the insertion of any articles, excepting such as came to us *fully authenticated*; and from the difference of opinion which still continues to prevail in respect to its merits, it is not without a considerable degree of reluctance that we give publicity to the following statement, *though authenticated by a gentleman of deservedly high professional reputation, and of acknowledged veracity and honour.* The facts stated are however of such importance, that it would be incompatible with the duty we owe the public, to treat them with inattention or indifference; while our publication of them may be the means of having the real merits of the case ascertained.

Truth is our only object, and in pursuit of it, we shall be happy to avail ourselves of every species of information that can be furnished upon the subject. The following is the statement to which we allude. We submit it without a comment :—

*“ At Ringwood, in Hants, fifty-three persons have been vaccinated, two of whom died of the vaccine ulcer.*

*“ The rest ALL took the small-pox about two months after, and eighteen of them died.*

*“ Nine persons vaccinated three years since, also caught the small-pox.”*

*“ J—— B——.”*

“ We are further informed, that on Mr, Rose being made acquainted with some of the circumstances above stated, he took the necessary steps to have due inquiry made into them ; and that a physician and two surgeons are now at Ringwood investigating the facts. We look forward with anxiety to the result of this important inquiry.”

You will easily distinguish, my dear Sir, between the cautious and guarded language of

the EDITOR of this article, in his introductory remarks, and the subsequent unqualified assertions of Mr. BIRCH. On Tuesday the 5th of January appeared likewise the two following paragraphs, in the same newspaper, viz.

“ VACCINATION.

“ As considerable agitation must have been excited in the minds of a great number of persons, by the mortality which lately happened at Ringwood, in Hampshire, after vaccination; we are happy in taking the earliest opportunity of assuring our readers, that the result of a most patient investigation on the spot, by a deputation from the Jennerian Society in London, in the presence of a very eminent physician from Salisbury, *was so completely satisfactory to all parties, as not to have shaken their confidence in that mode of preventing the mischiefs of the small-pox.*—A Report of Particulars will probably soon be published.”

I have not learnt who caused the above to be inserted; but it must have been some friend of truth, and of vaccination.



“ ANOTHER COMMUNICATION ON THE  
SAME SUBJECT.

“ MR. EDITOR,

“ In your paper of Friday last, I read an alarming communication, signed J. B. respecting sixty-two alleged failures of vaccination at Ringwood in Hampshire; and on the preceding day, I saw a private letter from the same gentleman, which was handed about at Ringwood, professedly written to ascertain whether or no the reported failures had actually happened. It is therefore evident, that J. B. could not possibly have “*authenticated*” the premature account published in London! I have the pleasure to add, that before his letter was opened at Ringwood, its most respectable inhabitants, aided by a physician from Salisbury, and a medical deputation from the Royal Jennerian Society, had completely exculpated the cow-pock, and even detected the latent causes of what had happened. I am, &c.

“ VERITAS.”

For this communication (which also appeared in other papers) I acknowledge myself to be responsible; and am very sorry it produced no public recantation or concession from Mr. Birch!



It is of importance to justify the assertion in these two paragraphs, that the inhabitants of Ringwood had “*exculpated the cow-pock,*” after an examination which “*was completely satisfactory.*” I shall therefore next transcribe an advertisement, which was inserted on Sunday the 3d of January, in a Salisbury paper, by desire of the principal inhabitants of Ringwood (including the resident clergyman and magistrate, as well as the surgeons of the town); and which affords a sufficient reply to any surmises from the adversary, of supposed mal-contents in that quarter, after the public investigation.

This advertisement was sent to Dr. Knowles at the Central House of the Royal Jennerian Society, by Dr. Fowler of Salisbury, who cut it out of the paper alluded to; and a copy of it was transmitted to me, January 10th, by Mr. Westcott:

“*Ringwood, Dec. 30, 1807.*

“After a very careful and minute investigation of those cases, in which the small-pox occurred subsequently to inoculation for the cow-pox, it appeared that such inoculation had not taken effect; or that, when an

effect had been produced, the progress of vaccination was interrupted, so as to render the patients insecure.

“ The result cannot fail to be highly interesting to the inhabitants of Ringwood, and of the neighbouring parishes ; inasmuch as it must remove the feeling of alarm which had been excited, and restore and confirm the confidence of the public in a practice affording protection against a disease, justly esteemed the scourge of the human race.

“ The investigation was made in the presence of some of the most respectable gentlemen of the town and neighbourhood, by Dr. Fowler of Salisbury, and a deputation of three members of the Royal Jennerian Society of London.”

You will see that the above important advertisement is in perfect unison with the subjoined *Vote of Thanks*, which was moved by the Rev. Mr. DAVIES, and unanimously passed, on the 30th of December, at our last public meeting ; W. MILLS, Esq. M. P. in the chair, viz.

“ RESOLVED, That the thanks of the inhabitants of Ringwood be returned to the Right Honourable GEORGE ROSE, M. P. for the alacrity he has shewn in promoting the investigation which has now taken place ; —also to the gentlemen who were deputed by the Jennerian Society, and to Dr. Fowler, for the ability, patience, and indefatigable industry with which they have conducted it.”

Although the paragraph which Mr. Birch caused to be inserted in the *Morning Post* contained matter too general and indiscriminating to be circulated without proof, and too portentous to be received without hesitation ; some busy-body, who wished this direful account to be credited in spite of direct evidence of its falsehood, took occasion the very next day to propagate the news in another morning paper, which has always been the willing “ HERALD” of intelligence against the cow-pox : and the writer of this second-hand article seems to have discovered, that even *dead* men became victims to vaccination at Ringwood\*.

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\* After alluding to the affair in Hampshire, this sagacious writer tells us, “ A number of *dead* witnesses are said to have fallen martyrs to vaccine credulity.”—*Morning Herald*, Jan. 2, 1808.

You have heard that the Right Hon. George Rose (whose seat is at Cuffnell near Ringwood) took great pains to institute an exact scrutiny into this sad affair; and that it was by his express desire a deputation, consisting of Mr. Ring, Dr. Knowles, and myself, went from the Royal Jennerian Society; which was joined at Ringwood by Dr. Fowler of Salisbury, whose medical talents and respectability are universally acknowledged.

Mr. Rose forwarded to the Society such evidence as he could hastily collect from the parish-officers on the spot; together with a letter by the Rev. "H. Davies, curate of Ringwood," which is dated "Spring Gardens, Dec. 9th, 1807." I have the satisfaction to state, that this reverend gentleman (with many others) was present, and took an active part in our examinations, first, at the town-hall, and, secondly, at the public tavern in Ringwood; also, that he cheerfully concurred, not only in framing a vote of thanks to us, and in drawing up an advertisement for the provincial newspapers, but in having some of his parishioners re-inoculated with fresh vaccine matter from London. Such activity



in removing the doubts and allaying the fears which he himself had contributed to excite among his neighbours (in Ringwood, Ellingham, Ibsley, Harbridge, Crow, Blashford, &c.), does honour to this clergyman's feelings and candour.

The final result of our long-continued enquiries was, that the cow-pox itself had no share of blame in the disastrous events which had occurred; and it should be noticed, as a point of justice, that the two surgeons at Ringwood, by their honest explanations, very greatly facilitated our discovery of the truth, even when their own skill in vaccination was called in question.

You will now, my dear Sir, be able to appreciate the motives of Mr. Birch, in his precipitate publication of a report as *authentic*, which he had only a few hours before considered as *doubtful*, and might by the next post have learnt to be highly *erroneous*, if not altogether *false*! Had not his extreme impatience to disseminate this calamitous statement, and to cast the whole blame on vaccination, spurred him on to the pinnacle of imprudence, we might charitably have hoped



that he consulted the public benefit more than the gratification of a narrow-minded feeling : but, when a surgeon, remote from the scene of action, professing to search after indubitable facts, writes to a competent eye-witness at Ringwood, to resolve his doubts,—and, instead of waiting for an answer (as truth, humanity, and decency required), scruples not immediately to promulgate a crude and alarming rumour, the less probable in proportion to its alleged fatality,—you cannot, I think, in such an aggravated instance of *mala fides*, suppress the rising emotions of honest indignation ! But the case appears even still more aggravated, when you recollect that this very gentleman reflects upon some of his professional brethren (the accusation does not, however, affect me) for encouraging the cow-pox from selfish and mean-spirited motives !—“ *The object of the projectors of vaccination was not, he thinks, so much the desire of doing general good, as that of securing to themselves and to men-midwives the absolute command of the nurseries, to the entire exclusion of surgeons* \*.” Ah ! there’s the rub ; all “ sur-

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\* See The Letter from Mr. Birch to Mr. Rogers, July 6th, 1805.

geons" cannot make the necessary sacrifice of emolument, arising from the small-pox practice, in order to diffuse the *cheap* and mild security of vaccination !

This is neither the time nor the occasion to combat Mr. Birch's fictions about " perfectly  
" novel, singular, and anomalous eruptions,  
" abscesses and disorders, such as were un-  
" known before vaccination\* ;" because those  
" projectors of vaccination," and all " the  
devout worshippers of the cow," have at length been sanctioned by the highest medical authority in this kingdom, which has declared that such stories are not only unsupported by proofs, but appear, " after diligent inquiry, to be either the inventions  
" of designing, or the mistakes of ignorant  
" men †."

The following remark made by the London College of Physicians, respecting the

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\* Mr. Birch's *Serious Reasons*, pp. 12, 17, 72 and 54.

† Report of the Royal College of Physicians of London, ordered by the House of Commons to be printed July 8th, 1807 ; and it should be remembered, that this Report includes the joint opinion of *all* the other Colleges of Physicians and Surgeons in the United Kingdom.

mischiefs attendant on the small-pox inoculation, was strikingly confirmed by the disasters at Ringwood and its neighbourhood ; and, indeed, the statement of the College is much too feeble to reach the truth, on this melancholy occasion :

“ It is from a consideration of the pernicious effects of the small-pox, that the real value of vaccination is to be estimated. The natural small-pox has been supposed to destroy a sixth part of all whom it attacks ; and that even by inoculation, where that has been general in parishes and towns, about one in three hundred has usually died. It is not sufficiently known, or not adverted to, that nearly one-tenth, some years more than one-tenth, of the whole mortality in London, is occasioned by the small-pox ; and however beneficial the inoculation of the small-pox may have been to individuals, it appears to have kept up a constant source of contagion, which has been the means of increasing the number of deaths by what is called the natural disease. It cannot be doubted that this mischief has been extended, by the inconsiderate manner in which great numbers of persons, even since the introduction of vacci-

nation, are still every year inoculated with the small-pox, and afterwards required to attend two or three times a week at the places of inoculation, through every stage of their illness. From this, then, the public are to expect the great and uncontroverted superiority of vaccination, that it communicates no casual infection ; and, while it is a protection to the individual, it is not prejudicial to the public."

The particular fact which I desire Mr. Birch and his comrades to notice is, that the proportion of deaths in Ringwood and the neighbouring parishes greatly exceeded what is here acknowledged by the College of Physicians ; for, *one subject in less than eighty perished after inoculation with the small-pox, and nearly half died of those who caught this disease !* It is proper, however, to mention that the fatality in the latter cases might be partly owing to the interference of a fellow who (though a pauper of the parish) was said to be in the constant habit of disseminating this horrid pestilence, and of administering large daily potions of ardent spirits to his patients : it was related in evidence, that he



thus destroyed many poor sufferers, who had taken the small-pox, at that town and in its vicinity.

Mr. Birch, in his "*Serious Reasons*" for opposing the cow-pox, strenuously and repeatedly denies the occurrence of variolous symptoms, twice in the same person. This, I believe, is the uniform conduct of the "anti-vaccinarians," who think it wonderful that the circumstance, if true, should have been hardly suspected in former ages. But positive and unequivocal evidence can never be got rid of by any negative assertion. The fact may now perhaps be enquired into with more than ordinary care and precision, because it is now more interesting. May not our want or paucity of evidence arise from the gratuitous supposition, that such an occurrence is impossible? Let those who deny the secondary appearance of the small-pox, endeavour to refute what has lately been published by Mr. Ring on this subject, in several numbers of the *Medical and Physical Journal*. I shall here adduce part of the evidence which arose during our public investigations, tending to prove the affirmative opinion.



Mr. Westcott and Mr. Macilwain, the two surgeons at Ringwood, on being questioned respecting their practice in the small-pox on the present occasion, said they had inoculated above 1900; of which number upwards of 700 were Mr. Westcott's patients, and 1200 Mr. Macilwain's. The former gentleman declared positively and distinctly, that seven or eight of them took the confluent small-pox, after an interval of three, four, and five weeks subsequently to effectual inoculation, which had been attended with both local and constitutional symptoms. The latter gentleman with equal confidence told us, that he had seen twelve or fourteen such patients; and in all these instances they were judged by him to be safe from a second infection: the ordinary febrile symptoms, said he, happened in every case; and, in most of them, the second crop of variolous eruptions appeared not only on the arms, but upon other parts of the body, from two to four weeks after an imagined security from the previous inoculation. The questions put to those surgeons, on these points, were explicit and numerous, on account of the important nature of the evidence.

About twenty-five persons were stated to have died, of the whole number inoculated for the small-pox; but, in Ringwood parish alone, the clergyman and overseer alleged, that at least twenty-five died out of fifty-five who took the disease casually! The fatality was admitted to be full as great in the neighbouring parishes, especially at Ellingham.

Whatever judgment may be formed on the above-recited cases of secondary small-pox, is not very material to my present object; for, if they be deemed inconclusive, many similar facts, still more unequivocal, are recorded by different writers. Dr. Lettsom has lately published an account of some cases of this kind, which are deserving of particular notice, as two of them occurred after inoculations by *Baron Dimsdale and Mr. Sutton* \*: “In one week,” says he, “I attended two children in different families, who had been inoculated with the small-pox, by respectable practitioners, and took the disease afterwards,

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\* See Dr. Lettsom’s *Expositions on the Inoculation of the Small-pox and of the Cow-pock*, 1806, p. 10; in which is a shocking recital, of the extensive fatality of the small-pox in London, &c.

and suffered severely from it. I am now attending a lady who was inoculated by the late Baron Dimsdale, and afterwards had the natural small-pox. A relation of mine, inoculated by one of the Suttons, since caught the small-pox and died; but such instances are too frequent to leave any doubts of these facts, and as I have observed, may have likewise occurred in a few instances after the cow-pock.

“ Whilst this essay was going to press, I visited in a family of the name of Johnson, in Sweet-apple Yard, Bishopsgate Street, a child about eleven years of age, whom I found labouring under the confluent small-pox, after having been inoculated with the small-pox, by a respectable surgeon nine years ago. Two other children of the family were inoculated with the cow-pock, who escaped infection; as well as another child of the family, who had been inoculated with the cow-pock five years previously to the present time. By these instances, it might be inferred, that the inoculation of the cow-pock affords as certain a security, if not a more certain one, against the small-pox, than the inoculation of the small-pox itself.

“ I have known children inoculated with the cow-pock, instantly at their birth, in consequence of this event happening at a boarding-house, loaded with the infection of the small-pox ; but these remained perfectly secure from this disease. I have even known two children suck one woman, one of the infants having taken the small-pox when the other was inoculated with the cow-pock : and both continued to suck, till the small-pox child died, whilst the other child under the cow-pock received no other infection. Numerous instances have I known of children, who have had the cow-pock, having afterwards slept with their brothers or sisters in the worst kind of the small-pox ; but I never yet knew any one of these vaccinated children to have taken the small-pox in consequence of these trials, during an attentive practice ever since the cow-pock was introduced.

*“ The inoculation of the small-pox affords no more security against catching the small-pox again, than the cow-pock does : but inoculation of the small-pox is always a dangerous experiment, as it oftentimes proves fatal ; and where it does not kill, it diffuses*



its own poison so extensively as to have occasioned more deaths than ever happened before the inoculation of it was practised ! The Parliament of Great Britain were convinced of this, after a careful examination of many eminent physicians and surgeons, and by the certain proof of the bills of mortality published every week in London."

Clearly to prove the recurrence of the small-pox in only one example, is sufficient to overturn all the quibbles of antivaccinists ; without citing the authorities of Diemerbroeck, Sydenham, Macdonald, Burserius, Woodville, and many others. I shall therefore give a full detail of one authentic case, known and published long before the cow-pox disputes had commenced. It is described in the fourth Volume, Article XIII. of the "Memoirs of the Medical Society of London," by a surgeon named *Withers* :

" Mr. Richard Langford, a farmer of West Shefford, Berkshire, about fifty years of age, when about a month old had the small-pox, at a time when three others of the family underwent the same disease ; one of whom, a servant man, died with it. Mr. Langford's



countenance was strongly indicative of the malignity of the distemper, his face being so remarkably pitted and seamed, as to attract the notice of all who saw him, so that no one could entertain a doubt about his having had that disease in the most inveterate manner; moreover, it was usual for him also, whenever the small-pox happened among the poor of his parish, to attend and assist in accommodating them with all necessaries.

“ On the 8th of May 1775, I was desired to visit this person, from whom I learned, that about a fortnight before, on overheating himself, he became indisposed, and continued so for two days, when he became well, and had continued so until the day before I saw him; when he was seized with chills, pain of his back and head, &c. &c. with considerable degree of fever. I directed for him such medicines as circumstances indicated: on visiting him the following day I found him much the same, and I directed a continuance of his aperient and febrifuge medicines. I saw him again early on the morning of the tenth, when his fever was somewhat abated, and indeed a mitigation of all his symptoms. The succeeding day I found

him still better, but complaining of a rash ; which the family then informed me, they had perceived very early the morning before, but which they forgot to mention to me, and which had escaped *my* notice, his chamber being a very dark one.

“ On examining this eruption, which was now not limited to his face alone, but extended to his arms, breast, and body, its appearance so much resembled the small-pox, that I told the family I should not have hesitated in pronouncing it to be so, if his having had that distemper had not been so notorious. The next day the eruption was universal ; his throat also, which he had complained of the day before, was now become more troublesome, and indeed every other appearance so much favoured the idea of the disease being variolous, as to induce me to 'give the most decided opinion of its being so, and to desire that there might be no communication or intercourse with any of his friends who had not had that disease. This opinion was ridiculed, and consequently but little attention paid to the precaution. In the progress of this case, the advancement of the pustules, the swelling of the face and head, and that

smell peculiar to the disease, as well as every other circumstance, still more and more confirmed me in the opinion I had given.

“ Reflecting on the singularity of the case, I desired on the eighth day from the invasion, that a physician might visit him: accordingly Dr. Collet, then a resident in this place, was desired to see him: considering how necessary it was that the nature of this case should be investigated in the fullest manner, I requested Dr. Hulbert, a physician of eminence here, would attend with Dr. Collet on my account. This measure appeared to me the more necessary, as the whole neighbourhood held my opinion in contempt; even Dr. Hulbert, to whom the patient was well known, laughed at my idea of its being small-pox: however, both those gentlemen, on visiting the patient, pronounced it to be so. As the patient himself never could be reconciled to the opinion of his case being small-pox, he was disinclined to pursue the means recommended; and his surrounding friends being of the same opinion, were the less inclined to enforce the use of them, and Dr. Hulbert (though desirous of continuing his attendance without any fee) was

dismissed after his second visit. Under these disadvantages he had but an indifferent chance of recovery, from a bad confluent distemper. He died on the twenty-first day from the seizure.

“ Four of the family, as also a sister of the patient’s, to whom the disease was conveyed by her son’s visiting his uncle, falling ill with the small-pox, fully satisfied the country with regard to the nature of the disease; which, nothing short of this would have done. The sister died.

“ This case was thought so extraordinary a one, as to induce the rector of the parish to record the particulars of it in the parish register.

“ EDWARD WITHERS.

“ *Newbury,*  
*March 20, 1791.*”

The candid admission of Dr. ADAMS, that “ the small-pox has occurred more than once in the same subject,” (see page 86 of his “ Popular View of Vaccine Inoculation,” published in 1807,) will be duely appreciated; as he still continues to disseminate the



small-pox in London, and even tells us “ 3000 WERE INOCULATED LAST YEAR” at the Hospital he superintends! This most horrible practice, of annually sending some thousands of “ OUT-PATIENTS” to all parts of an extensive metropolis, was reprobated by Mr. Sturges Bourne in the House of Commons; and he wisely remarked, “ that the Legislature would be as much justified in taking a measure to prevent this evil by restraint, as a man would be in snatching a fire-brand out of the hands of a maniac, going to set fire to a city.”—On which, another worthy member of the House of Commons (Mr. Isaac Hawkins Browne) answered thus: “ The practice to which my Honourable Friend has alluded prevailed some years ago, *but not of late*: I am a member of the Small-pox Hospital, and I can say, that the Governors and Directors are great promoters of the vaccine inoculation.” [Unhappily, the people are surrounded with contagion, when vaccinated there; and after attending at the Hospital several times, they break out, perhaps, with the small-pox! This has been recently seen by myself.] “ I believe that the Small-pox Hospital,” said this respectable member, “ *does not now practise any*



*but the vaccine inoculation* ; but if they do, it is a proper subject for legislative authority : for I agree with my Honourable Friend, on the propriety of devising some means to prevent the spreading of the contagion of the small-pox, by the old method of inoculation." In the late Parliamentary Debates on Vaccination, just published by Mr. Murray, appear the sentiments of other Members of Parliament ; concurring to execrate the conduct of small-pox inoculators and patients, in thus keeping up a " pestilence which wasteth by noon day," and every year destroys above forty thousand of our own countrymen,—“ the most dreadful contagion known in these latitudes,” as Dr. Adams himself confesses, and which a Fothergill, a Mead, and some of the best medical judges agree in calling “ A TRUE PLAGUE.”

I hope this short digression will be pardoned, my dear Sir, as the subject is of incalculable importance : and it has impressed my mind the more strongly, from a consideration of what happened at Ringwood ; when the first seventy persons who had been variolated, and prudently railed in for a time, were afterwards dispersed (like Sampson's foxes) with

the plague still cleaving to their tails! I have lying before me the fifth volume of the "Reports of the Society for bettering the Condition of the Poor," which is only just published, and was this day presented to me by the benevolent Thomas Bernard, Esq. of whom I may say, in treating popular and economical topics—" *Nibil tetigit quod non ornavit.*" I must encroach on your patience a few moments longer, while I quote two appropriate remarks, which seem to have been added by that friend of humanity to certain articles in this volume, on vaccination, pp. 194, 201. After describing several recent examples of fatality from variolous inoculation at the Small-pox Hospital, he says: "While this note is printing, I have two additional instances of the fatal effects of the dissemination of variolous infection. *Three* children of Mrs. Curtain, residing in Riley's Rents, St. Giles's, and *three* children of a shoemaker, No. 4, Phoenix Street, St. Giles's, have very lately fallen victims to the small-pox, caught from the infection so fatally circulated through this metropolis. The circumstance that both infants and adults, EVIDENTLY AND VISIBLY AFFECTED WITH THE SMALL-POX, AND NOW EX-

HIBITED IN THE PUBLIC STREETS, MORE FREQUENTLY AND MORE NUMEROUSLY THAN AT ANY FORMER PERIOD, is so well known and so generally felt that I need only refer to it.—5th *December*, 1807.”

“ It is a most extraordinary circumstance that England, which has the honour of the discovery of the inestimable blessing of vaccine inoculation, should be the ONLY COUNTRY UPON EARTH in which any effort has been made to undervalue its advantages, and to check the extension of its beneficial effects. It is indeed wonderful, that in the most enlightened nation upon earth, CALUMNY, CHICANERY, AND CARICATURE, should have been united in co-operation, and not without some success, in prejudicing the minds of the poor and ignorant, and of the weak and infirm, against the adoption of the most important and useful discovery which has been made in the annals of civilization! The religious scruples of the Hindoos, and the rooted prejudices of the Chinese, have offered no obstacle to the diffusion of Dr. JENNER’S DISCOVERY. France, Germany, Russia, and other Euro-

pean States, the distant regions of Mexico and Peru, the tribes of the North American Indians, and the savage hordes of Africa, have all accepted the JENNERIAN DISCOVERY with willingness and gratitude\*.

*“ The contagion of the small-pox is already nearly annihilated in many of the capital towns of Europe ; whilst in the metropolis of the British isles, the seat of science and the arts, the temple of liberty and benevolence, VARIOLOUS INFECTION HAS BEEN PROMOTED AND DISSEMINATED.”*—The Society might have noticed a circumstance even still more aggravating ; that the merits of this discovery have twice been subjected to the scrutiny of a British Parliament,—twice it has received their decided approbation,—twice has the inventor been remunerated,—every Royal College of Physicians and Surgeons in the United Kingdom has solemnly afforded it their sanction,—and nearly all the numerous individuals of the Royal Family have patronized

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\* The Rev. Mr. La Trobe has favoured the author with an interesting account of extensive inoculations for the cow-pox among the HOTTENTOTS, which has been sent for insertion to the editors of several monthly publications.—January 23, 1808.



an institution for its extensive administration ; notwithstanding which, some thousands die annually in London, and thousands more are mutilated or deformed every year, because a public hospital is allowed, *directly contrary to its charter*, to collect, accumulate, and gratuitously diffuse the VARIOLOUS PLAGUE ! How is it, Sir, that every other destructive PESTILENCE except this, which of all contagions is the most fatal, should be sedulously kept from appearing among us, by rigid quarantine laws, severe penalties and restraints, though often they are only *suspected* to exist near our shores,—while this direful and relentless enemy is even invited, cherished, and openly seen in our streets, as if it were a friend to population ? Surely no means could effect so complete a tyranny over our conduct, but “ the most perverse  
“ obstinacy, the blindest prejudice, the  
“ grossest ignorance, and the most sordid  
“ avarice\*.” Yet, Sir, to all that human devastation and slaughter, Mr. Birch can *seriously reply*, “ THIS PESTILENTIAL DIS-

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\* See a very impressive and argumentative pamphlet, recently published at Murray’s in Fleet Street, entitled, “ A Letter to the Governors of the Small-pox Hospital.” 1808.



EASE IS CONSIDERED AS A MERCIFUL PROVISION, TO LESSEN THE BURTHEN OF A POOR MAN'S FAMILY."

The incessant professional interruptions I meet with, in endeavouring to submit these cursory thoughts to your notice, must be accepted as an apology for the loose and unconnected manner in which I find myself writing. If the motive for my addressing you had not been extremely urgent, and I had not received full proof of your great anxiety to know all that relates to the subject of vaccination at Ringwood, &c. I should gladly have left this weighty task to some abler pen: for, I can justly say, that an earnest desire to benefit mankind, by vindicating the truth and exposing error, could alone have induced me to step forward on the occasion. I am quite aware of the personal reflections and calumny I shall very probably meet with, in return for this prompt endeavour to serve the cause of humanity.

A *cheap* anonymous publication\* has this day (January 23, 1808) been put into my

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\* "The Cow-Pox Chronicle; or, Medical Reporter.  
Printed by D. Chalmers, 15, Broad Way, Queen

hands, and another was given to me at the beginning of the present week †; both of which clearly mark the persevering animosity and virulence of anti-vaccinists—even now that we have been so openly and decidedly supported in the new practice, by the highest authorities, political as well as medical! These POISONS, I am credibly informed, are not only sold to those who wish to have them; but are freely distributed *gratis* (by Mr. Birch) to persons who do not choose to read such scandalous, and almost libellous productions! Surely, Sir, the opulent and intelligent part of the nation ought to exert themselves as one man, (or rather, the Parliament itself, we hope, will soon endeavour) to give energy and complete effect to what has already been so well begun, towards introducing this practice to our countrymen at large! If to enlighten and inform

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“ Square, Westminster; for Mr. Bruce, Bookseller,  
“ New Round Court, Strand. *Price sixpence.*”

† “ The fatal Effects of Cow-pox Protection; manifested by a Narrative of the Occurrences which have recently happened at Ringwood, in Hampshire. Printed for J. P. Hughes, 5, Wigmore Street, 1808.” *Price eighteen-pence.*—I am authorized to state, that this publication has been *repeatedly* purchased as “Mr. BIRCH’S pamphlet.”

the ignorant, or to remove the prejudices and weaknesses of sober-minded objectors, be important ; how easily and effectually might that be accomplished by legislative means, or by moderate assistance from the public purse ! And, if the practice itself be indeed a public blessing, why should not public measures be resorted to for its general diffusion ? This, we know, has been actually done abroad ; and, perhaps, the indispensable necessity of doing so at home will soon be felt, by our patriotic legislators. I am led insensibly to make these remarks, under the distressing and mortifying impressions I have just received, from perusing the *two anonymous publications* above alluded to, and of which I subjoined the titles in a note. I am confident you will also participate, in this painful sensation, when I shall have laid open their almost unparalleled heinousness and malignity !

If my language be deemed strong and emphatical, it is because the pamphlet and “Chronicle” are of such a degrading and pernicious stamp as to require it, and even to justify still more severe epithets. I would not forget the rule—“*Suaviter in modo, fortiter in re ;*” though I think myself at

perfect liberty to write with freedom, as the author of those two publications (which are evidently from *one* source) dares not announce his name! The strictures I shall hereafter make on those base productions, are always to be considered as applying to their matter and manner, and not meant as personal railing against any individual. But, should a *verbum ardens* escape me, during the hurry and rapidity of my writing, too like the envenomed acrimony or bitter calumnies of the author himself, you will expunge such words from this LETTER, and impute them to mere inadvertency.

The plan of attacking vaccination and its adherents by cheap anonymous pamphlets, in which facts and assertions must continually arise, requiring the sanction of known respectable names, is a device the most unworthy of a gentleman, a scholar, and an ingenuous man. It is a mode of attack so deeply artful and injurious, that I really want terms to express my opinion of such conduct, with just severity and truth! It is "*casting fire-brands, arrows, and death,*" among a class of people who cannot perceive the snares and dangers that await them! Yet, Sir, this



is the manner of some, who complain, that they are "ABUSED AND VILIFIED BY THE COLLEGE,"\* which (in its Report) honestly puts the public on its guard against these perverse and indecent efforts.

The motives by which that anonymous and masked writer is influenced, are so clearly apparent from this glaring act of injustice and public deception, that I cannot suppose they will be mistaken by the "Anti-vaccinarian Society" itself! If it should happen, as I am confident it must, that John Birch, Esq. is responsible for this insidious and re-iterated attack, you will say—"He has greatly out-done Doctors Moseley, Squirrel, and Rowley." The duodecimo pamphlet was published on Tuesday, the 19th of January last, by Mr. Hughes; who, while he enjoins the profoundest secrecy to his shopmen, with regard to the author's name, has recommended him to public notice, as "A VERY EMINENT SURGEON," and hopes by this *just* and needful intimation to make his employer's book saleable.

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\* These are the very words of the anonymous author, at page 40 of his pamphlet on the Ringwood cases.



That work is graced by an appropriate motto from Shakespeare, (and you know Mr. Birch is versed in tragedies,) "*Around, unvarnished tale I will deliver.*" Indeed, this "TALE" is so "*unvarnished*," that I plainly recognize the brazen-face of anti-vaccinist; and contains the same "*round*" story which appeared twice under a different mask, sanctioned by the signature of J—— B——.

As I possess both internal and external evidence of its true origin, let me now make you acquainted with some few particulars. I hope you will in the interim restrain yourself from arguing, with respect to the entire phalanx of opponents, as Mr. Birch in his "*Serious Reasons*" does, with regard to a late Committee of the Royal Jennerian Society—"that an inference drawn from the artful conduct of a single individual implies the craftiness of a whole race :

"Crimine ab uno,  
Disce omnes"—

Having been informed of an advertisement in the "*Morning Herald*" of the 14th instant, concerning the Ringwood cases, I wrote immediately to Mr. Hughes; who

was named as the intended publisher of a pamphlet, bearing the title already mentioned. My letter was as follows :

“ SIR,

“ If the author of an intended pamphlet, advertised in the Herald of this day, respecting the alleged failures of vaccination at Ringwood, will send me his name and address, I shall readily communicate to him some important information on this subject, *tending to clear up the truth*; as I have lately returned from a visit to that town, and took especial pains to investigate the real circumstances.

“ I am, &c.

“ W. BLAIR.

“ 69, Great Russel Street,  
Bloomsbury, Jan. 14, 1808.”

Two days afterwards, I went to Mr. Hughes's house in Wigmore Street, and told the shopmen (as Mr. H. was not at home) that I wished to communicate *very important intelligence* to the author of an intended pamphlet about the Ringwood cases, and begged to know where the printer lived. I was referred to Mr. Juigné, at No. 17,

Margaret Street, on whom I called immediately, and saw him. I told Mr. Juigné that I was solicitous to prevent a *false account* being published of the serious affair at Ringwood, and was desirous of giving some authentic information on this subject to the author of a pamphlet he was then printing. He said the proof-sheets were sent to be corrected, and that he would certainly deliver my message during the day to Mr. Hughes. I had not yet learnt, although I suspected, the name of the author.

After waiting two days more, I sent the following letter :

“ *To Mr. HUGHES, No. 5, Wigmore Street.*

“ Monday Morning, Jan. 18, 1808,  
Great Russel Street, Bloomsbury.

“ SIR,

“ My anxiety to prevent the publication of an *erroneous account* of the supposed failures of vaccination at Ringwood, induced me to write you a letter on Thursday; for the information of a gentleman, whom you know to be the author of an intended pamphlet on that subject. Not having received any answer, I called and left a mes-

sage at your house on Saturday ; after which, not finding you at home, I went to the printer of that pamphlet in Margaret Street, who assured me the first sheet only was then going to press, and that he would make you acquainted with the message I left with him. Still, however, I have received no answer ; and am therefore compelled to suppose it is the determination of the author to publish his pamphlet, without taking the trouble to *clear up the truth* in his statement, which I presume is of a nature to agitate the feelings and excite the prejudices of ignorant persons respecting the practice of vaccination.

“ I now write, Sir, to inform you and the author of the pamphlet, that I shall not think myself justified in concealing from the world *this repeated offer, to communicate some important facts before its actual publication.* If the author really wishes not to deceive his readers, I hope he will even now act the part of an honest man, in hesitating to present the public with an account which has been previously called in question by a lover of truth.

“ I am, &c.

“ W. BLAIR.”

My pupil (*Mr. Thomas Harrison Burder*) delivered the above letter to Mr. Hughes, and brought back a written answer, of which I subjoin an extract. He also said, he was told by the publisher that “*the author of the pamphlet was a very eminent surgeon;*” but he could learn nothing more. This hint corresponded with what I had already been informed of, by a gentleman in another quarter; and I found out that Mr. Birch had lately been often conferring with Mr. Hughes at his own house. Presently after, I likewise gained collateral evidence which indubitably fixed the publication itself on Mr. BIRCH, through a medium I am not permitted to disclose. This is the substance of Mr. Hughes’s note, in reply to mine, *viz.*

“ Mr. Hughes presents his best compliments to Mr. Blair, and informs him, that the moment he received his letter he forwarded it to the author of the pamphlet in question; whose answer was, that he was fully prepared, and for the present *did not wish any communication on this subject.* Mr. Hughes also informed him yesterday, of Mr. Blair’s visit on Saturday. He gave the *same answer;* and desired that a pamphlet, as



soon as published, should be sent to Mr. Blair, with the author's respects. Mr. Hughes expects the book from the printer every minute; and as soon as it comes, he will send it to Mr. Blair.

*" 5, Wigmore Street,  
Monday Morning."*

This free explanation of the publisher, who is an old acquaintance of Mr. Birch, would certainly never have come to me spontaneously; and without such an explicit statement of the author's settled *wish, not to receive any communication on this subject*, and his pretence *that he was fully prepared*, I should scarcely have ventured to bring so flagrant a charge against him. The fact is now, indeed, demonstrated beyond all doubt, that the author did not desire to clear up the truth, nor to publish any additional intelligence, however authentic and important! What *" he did not wish"* I shall nevertheless perform, without asking his permission.

Having read the anonymous work, its contents fully coincided with my expectations, and with the evidence I had previously obtained, of *that* "SURGEON" being the very author. This conviction induced me to

send a short note to Mr. Birch ; which was due to him for his present, and as a proof of my determination to publish the whole truth, fairly and avowedly. My note was thus expressed :

“ *Great Russel Street,  
Bloomsbury Square,  
Jan. 19, 1807.*

“ Mr. Blair’s compliments to Mr. Birch, and thanks him for the new pamphlet on vaccination, which he has received through the hands of Mr. Hughes, the publisher : but Mr. Blair is very sorry that the cause of truth needs a much more correct account of the affair at Ringwood, than Mr. Birch has therein given ; and that the positive refusal of Mr. Birch to admit *authentic intelligence* on that subject, constrains Mr. Blair to expose such misconduct in a separate publication. Besides, if Mr. Birch had been sincere in his enquiries after truth, he could not have brought forward the testimony of Mr. Westcott *against the cow-pox*, after the information sent him by that gentleman, about the end of December, and which Mr. Birch has entirely suppressed !

“ *To JOHN BIRCH, Esq.  
Spring Gardens.*”



I had the following answer, next day :

“ Mr. Birch has received Mr. Blair’s note, *but is quite at a loss to know what he means by it.*

“ *Spring Gardens,  
Wednesday noon.*”

To the above I replied in these terms :

“ *Great Russel Street, Bloomsbury,  
Thursday, Jan. 21.*

“ Mr. Birch having professed himself to be *quite at a loss to know the meaning of Mr. Blair’s note*, it becomes indispensably requisite that three questions should be distinctly submitted to Mr. Birch’s attention ; the unequivocal and early answers to which, will enable Mr. Blair to rectify any mistakes he may have made.

“ 1st, Has not Mr. Westcott decidedly informed Mr. Birch, that the report lately prevalent in London, and which Mr. B. inserted in the Morning Post, concerning the Ringwood cases of unsuccessful vaccination, was wholly untrue ?

“ 2nd, Did not Mr. Hughes in Wigmore Street communicate to Mr. Birch both the letter and the message, which he had received last week from Mr. Blair, on the same subject ?

“ 3rd, Is not Mr. Birch responsible for an anonymous pamphlet on the above cases, published the day before yesterday by Mr. Hughes, and entitled, ‘ The fatal Effects of ‘ Cow-pox Protection, &c. ?’

“ If Mr. Birch should answer these three queries in the negative, it will then be Mr. Blair’s duty to alter his opinion (though not founded on slight proofs) relative to Mr. Birch’s conduct on this occasion. But if no such reply be sent, Mr. Blair will be compelled, *by his regard for truth and humanity*, to expose the artful proceedings of Mr. Birch with respect to the Ringwood affair.”

I immediately received this very summary reply, shewing the dilemma into which Mr. Birch was thrown by my *pertinent* queries ; and obliging me to furnish such an answer to them, as will enable the public to decide who



is responsible for a deliberate attempt to impose on credulous persons, *viz.*

“ Mr. Birch conceives it a most *impertinent* thing for Mr. Blair to presume to ask him any questions, or to conclude him the author of any publication, without his name to it \*. He shall therefore be silent, and not otherwise answer his letter ; and desires Mr. Blair will be careful how he uses Mr. Birch’s name.”

Here ceased my correspondence with this “ gentleman of deservedly high professional reputation, and of acknowledged veracity and honour,” as the *Morning Post* says ! You may now, if you please, Sir, annihilate the extrinsic evidence I have laid before you, respecting the supposed author of the pamphlet ; and not credit me in affirming that I possess still more direct and conclusive proofs, which (being confidential) I cannot bring forward without permission. Any “ HONEST MAN,” such as Mr. Birch tells us he is, when contrasting himself with the “ Jenne-

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\* Dr. Johnson says, *pertinent* means “ relative to the matter in hand, just to the purpose, not useless to the end proposed, apposite”—and therefore my questions were not very *impertinent*.

rian Committee," might have frankly and explicitly answered the first of my notes to him (dated January 19th)—by denying that Mr. Hughes delivered the letter and message to which I alluded, or that he had any knowledge of the pamphlet I then thanked him for. But, no; he writes in a mysterious way, as if "*quite at a loss*" how to extricate himself: and it would have been too ingenuous for this "honest man," to give explanations in private which should look like an act of self-condemnation or remorse. He seemed determined to plunge yet deeper into the mire; and having cast the die, still to venture on, whatever consequences might ensue at the end of the game!

Putting aside the external evidences of authorship, I now shall endeavour to convince you, by internal proofs alone, arising out of the matter of the pamphlet itself, who is responsible for this ill-judged publication: and *first*, I shall shew that only ONE person is entitled to that honour, or at least claims it as his own; although, probably, he has not failed to consult a few of his worthy associates, who, having "*dared to differ from the misguided Faculty, have been abused and vili-*

*fied by the College.*"\* My present object is not difficult to accomplish; for, the author often writes in the singular number: "*I* will subjoin," &c. "*I* leave the College of Physicians to determine," &c. "*I* believe *I* am not misinformed when *I* say," &c. Again, "Let *me* ask any safe old country practitioner," &c. "Let *me* appeal," &c. But this point is further obvious from the preface, wherein some feeling and "serious reasons" are assigned why "*the author* chooses to conceal *his* name:"—"He is aware that the order of the day will be, to attach a wrong motive to every one who reveals the truth; to represent *him* as one of the designing and ignorant men pointed out by the College of Physicians; and never to invite *him* to a professional ban-

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\* The anonymous author is very sore upon this subject: the language of the Royal College "utterly discredits a body of men, who ought to be grave, learned, and discreet. Their Report," says he, "is far from satisfactory; the confidence of the public in this learned body is shaken; their reliance on the skill and integrity of the Faculty is destroyed; they (*the public*) have been deceived, experimented, and miserably disastered."

Is this decent, or bearable, or much short of a libel on the College of Physicians? See "The fatal Effects of Cow-pox Protection," pp. 44, 45; and compare this insolent language with my *subsequent* extracts, from "The Cow-pox Chronicle."

“quet. The latter is a PRINCIPAL MO-  
“TIVE why *he* chooses not to discover him-  
“self: for as *he* would be thus shut out of  
“some of the pleasantest parties, and the  
“best dinners, *he* is far from desirous of  
“confining *himself* to humble port; while  
“*he* can regale with claret and burgundy at  
“the mansions of the Fellows of the Col-  
“lege, and pass *his* cheerful hours in laugh-  
“ing at the follies and credulity of man-  
“kind.”

*In vino veritas* : if the author speaks as he thinks, in his “cheerful hours,” when overcharged with “port, claret, and burgundy;” ’tis a pity he cannot think more wisely in his sober moments, and act so as to convince us he is not wantonly playing with the “credulity of mankind.” We have now, Sir, cleared up the *first* point, and likewise shewn what is the “*principal motive*” why the author chooses not to discover himself.”

The task of discovering and exposing this “honest man,” who hugs himself in a fancied obscurity, shall next occupy my attention; and I do not at all despair of exhibiting his features, his talents, and his name, to your entire satisfaction.



Although the pamphlet before me comprises less than forty pages of matter, in 12mo. and each page contains no more lines than from thirteen to sixteen; the author's tale is so "unvarnished" that I clearly perceive traces of resemblance between his style and that of Mr. John Birch, in a former pamphlet, to which this "eminent surgeon" has prefixed his name. The phraseology and sentiments of both are so manifestly similar, as not to be doubted, on making a comparison of them with each other; from which coincidence I infer, that the author of "Serious Reasons," &c. is the very person who must answer to the world for this pamphlet also. If my argument be admitted as fair, I shall soon evince that the premises justify this conclusion; and besides, I shall shew that no other individual could *possibly* have collected the materials which the author has published, unless he were greatly aided by Mr. Birch, and (like him) belonged to the Court of Assistants in the Royal College of Surgeons.

In the present little pamphlet we are told, that "the first projectors of this desperate *experiment* have never dared to step forward

in defence of it;”\* that Dr. Jenner’s reward should have come from the purses of those “who thought so highly of *the experiment* ;” that “*the experiment* will be abandoned” in a short time ; that “seven years *experiment* has only taught us we had no ground to set out upon ;” that if Dr. Jenner refused to attend at Ringwood, it will “sign the death-warrant of *the experiment*.” Let us now see whether this cant about the Jennerian *experiment* does not also run through Mr. Birch’s pamphlet called “Serious Reasons,” and his very short “Letter to Mr.

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\* I suppose this doughty hero, Sampson-like, thinks he can pull down the massy pillars which support the fabric of Vaccination, if he could but get hold of them ! Unfortunately he is disappointed of his prey, by not finding the “*first projector*” in the field, ready to answer his puny challenge. He little thinks, poor man ! that the ignorant cavils of such pigmies, only excite your contemptuous smile ; and that the truth will, at length, refute his “*round unvarnished Tales*” which delude the unwary. For my part, it has always appeared more noble and dignified in you (after the example of NEWTON) to remain silent, while these waspish *Ephemerides* are stinging themselves, or furnishing Birch for their own chastisement. Therefore,

“Dart not on folly an indignant eye :  
Who e’er discharg’d artill’ry at a fly ?”

Rogers.” In the former I detect this phrase, *not fewer* than eighteen times, and in the latter four times ! so that we clearly discern at least ONE STRIKING PECULIARITY of Mr. Birch’s turn of thought and habit of writing, in this brief “ Narrative of the Occurrences at Ringwood.”

You will have remarked in the first sentence of the above paragraph, that the author speaks of the “ *projectors* of this desperate experiment :” I find the same term in Mr. Birch’s “ Letter to Mr. Rogers ;” where he suggests, that “ the object of the *projectors* of vaccination was not the desire of doing general good.” And, it is worthy of attention, that Mr. Birch has a real meaning in admitting more “ *projectors*” than one ; for he distinguishes the “ *first projectors*” from those who carried on “ the experiment,” and asks himself when speaking of you—“ Why do I say the inventor ? I beg pardon of this expeller of contagion if I state, that the cow-pox has been known for generations ;” but the curious and weighty reason he assigns for your predecessors not bringing forward their practice is, that “ the physicians of former

days were not," as you are, "fully satisfied *the experiment* was a salutary one."

Another feature of resemblance between this anonymous pamphlet and Mr. Birch's avowed publications is, the great discontent he expresses in both of them, at the parliamentary sanction you have received; and the high indignity which was offered by the Legislature to the College of Surgeons, in not calling on its "Court of Assistants" for their opinion. This subject of complaint occurs repeatedly in his "Serious Reasons," and in the "Letter to Mr. Rogers:" it also shews itself very conspicuously in the new publication, where the author dwells long upon your "*second reward* to so large an amount," as being "matter of astonishment to the public in general," and which had excited the "surprise of the Chancellor of the Exchequer." The author of the Ringwood narrative could not decently repeat the complaints found in Mr. Birch's book just mentioned, as if the College of Surgeons had *not* since been consulted; but he brings to light (in opposition to the College of Physicians) extracts from the secret "*Register of the Surgeons' College*," and from the "*Answers to the Queries of*



the College of Surgeons," which were communicated by various practitioners, and placed in the hands of the CURATORS as a sacred deposit, to justify their Report, since made public by the College of Physicians\*.

In the anonymous pamphlet we are told of "*the order of the day,*" the "*manœuvres by which vaccination is conducted,*" and the author's fondness for "*a professional banquet and the best dinners.*" In conformity with these sentiments, Mr. Birch, in his "*Serious Reasons,*" tells us of his attendance "*at the anniversary dinner at Guy's Hospital,*" where he "*expected to meet the professors, the medical gentlemen, and the students, on the same terms as usual;*" but alas! he found "*that toasts, songs, and compliments from one professor to another in honour of VACCINA, were the order of the day,*" and that vaccination was carried on by certain "*manœuvres.*"

The author complains in the pamphlet, of

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\* The CURATORS are, Mr. Long, Sir Charles Blicke, Mr. Chandler, Mr. Cline, Sir William Blizard, Mr. Keate, and Mr. Home; without whose express permission, no person whatever has authority to consult and publish any of the College papers.

“ *such arbitrary orders as those issued by the Army Medical Board ;*” and, in his “ *Serious Reasons*” Mr. Birch noticed the same “ *mean of facilitating the experiment.*” In both, we also find a heavy charge against vaccinators, for “ *a monopoly of the press*”—which is “ *shut against all information*” contrary to the new practice. In both productions we have the author boasting, that he has the “ *vox populi*” on his side ; and in the anonymous work, our author repeats the very phrase contained in Mr. Birch’s letter to Mr. Westcott of December 29th—“ *Since the House of Commons adjourned, the practice of vaccination in London has considerably decreased, and that of inoculation has prevailed.*” In the private letter, again, he says, “ *The Societies are opposing each other in such an indccent manner, that I think they will soon be at an end.*” In the anonymous pamphlet, we are told there is a “ *dispute and division in the Jennerian Society.*” The “ *Serious Reasons,*” likewise, give the self-same intelligence, that “ *the Societies quarrelled, and parted;*” which, however false it is, proves clearly who circulates the opinion in all the three writings. I wish you to compare the above with my

subsequent extracts from the "*Cow-pox Chronicle*," which I give in a long *note*, at page 65, &c.

In the anonymous pamphlet, there is mention made of the "*mass* of evidence" adduced against vaccination; "*the mass* of mischief" at Ringwood; "*the mass*" at Brighton; the "*masses* of evidence" which the author has now collected; and that it is "*no difficult task to amass* more," &c. &c. Mr. Birch's private letter to Mr. Westcott and *The Cow-pox Chronicle*, speak this language exactly, respecting the Ringwood affair: "*The circumstance (at Ringwood) is so much like what happened in a lesser degree in other places, that it does not surprize, excepting as to its mass.*" In the *Cow-pox Chronicle*, Mr. Birch says (for I soon shall prove it to be his) that "*no one has calculated what would have been the mass of evidence,*" &c.

By the way, I will now hint, that there are many more remarks in the "*Chronicle*," which occur in the anonymous pamphlet and in the "*Serious Reasons*:" but it would almost be an endless, as well as useless, trouble to bring forward all these striking

analogies and coincidences. I only give a few specimens of them, and leave you to find out the rest, if you be not satisfied with my proofs. I omitted, however, in its proper place, to say that Mr. Birch's favourite term, "*the experiment*," is contained even in his letter of December 29th: "I should be very glad (says he) to hear the circumstances from you, Sir; for really the *experiment* is so variously represented," &c. This letter further points out the author of the pamphlet; because, in one we have the assertion, that "The College of Physicians declared there is *no spurious cow-pox*," and in the other, "The College of Physicians have settled a material point, namely, that there is *no spurious cow-pox*." In the pamphlet, this writer says, "They allow that failure, disorders, and death, sometimes arise, from some deviations in *the genuine cow-pox*, which fails in its security," &c. and in the private letter, Mr. Birch says, "The College of Physicians have declared that insecurity, eruption, and death, result from *the genuine* kind sometimes." In the former our author observes that the College is wrong, in declaring "that vaccination disposes the habit to *soften the virulence of the small-pox*;" and



in the latter Mr. Birch writes, that “ they also declare it renders the *small-pox milder*,” &c. In the pamphlet we have quotations from the “ Register” and “ Answers to the Queries “ of the College of Surgeons ;” and in the epistle to Mr. Westcott, Mr. Birch says, “ On examining the books at the College of “ Surgeons I find a very candid and honour- “ able letter from you respecting three cases “ of failures under your care”—which very cases are actually “ *extracted*,” as the author at page 22, tells us, from the Records of the College : but he has not given the subsequent information, by Mr. WESTCOTT, which I know was sent to Mr. BIRCH, explaining *these three cases* in a very different manner ! No, no ; this would have been honest and fair, too honest and too fair for his insidious purpose ! In like manner he tells us of Mr. MACILWAIN’s gratuitous inoculations on “ *the same spot* ;” which this incorrigible anti-vaccinist likewise found out, by a sneaking and fraudulent examination of the College papers ! though he does not say a word more of Mr. Macilwain’s practice than suits his artful design, of telling us that “ the inhabitants of Ringwood had but an ill opinion of cow-pox.”

I shall weary you, my dear Sir, if I go on to heap proof upon proof, derived wholly from the anonymous pamphlet itself, that Mr. Birch is certainly its author : but since I have named the “ Cow-pox Chronicle ” as his, I now shall remark that this fact may be also clearly proved from internal evidence ; for a great many of the same phrases, uncouth sentences, and absurd notions are found in it as appear in Mr. B.’s avowed writings, or in the anonymous 12mo. publication ! Moreover, he there again announces, that “ *Reports are received in London of very melancholy failures of cow-pox security at Ringwood and other places.* ” But lest you should doubt whether I have fixed the “ Chronicle ” on its real author, allow me to subjoin the substance of a familiar conversation which was held (on the 25th of January last) with Mr. CHALMERS, Printer, at No. 15, Broadway, Westminster : \*

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\* To prevent unnecessary repetitions and comparisons of one paragraph with another, I shall here set down some detached passages from the “ Chronicle,” which agree with other parts of Mr. Birch’s writings, and demonstrate beyond dispute the common source whence they are all derived ! *viz.*

“ The answer of the College of Physicians to His Ma-

“ You are a printer, Mr. CHALMERS, I suppose? By mistake I have called here,

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jesty's message, completely sets aside *all* that was alleged as reasons for granting the first premium of £10,000 to Dr. Jenner.—The College *logically* admitted cow-pox to be a *protection*, but *not a security* against small-pox.—Notwithstanding the return of killed and wounded from the Surgeons' College, which return ought to have been the subject of more serious investigation, the College continue to recommend the protection of an *experiment*, which during the last five years *has failed in every point it promised to establish*.—The College admit the three great truths which have been alleged against the practice, viz. *That it is not a security, that it does produce disorders, and that the puncture is sometimes fatal*.—One part of the answer of the College, *which descends to abuse promiscuously every individual who has FAIRLY and HONESTLY maintained an opinion, contrary to the vote of the House of Commons and the mistake of the Faculty in general, is written IN LANGUAGE WHICH DISGRACES THEM, and which the King's physicians should have known was not the language for a Court, nor proper to be read in the House of Commons*.—The same sentiments are expressed by Mr. Birch in other parts of this *folio* “ Chronicle, or Medical Reporter;” especially at page 3, under the pretence of a Letter “ To the Editor,” where he says—“ So many cases have occurred since the House of Commons has voted the additional £20,000, to prove cow-pox is *neither a protection nor a security*, that no man of any reputation will risque that reputation in making himself answerable for the *protection* of it. I was in the

thinking you might be the publisher of Mr. Birch's Chronicle. All I could recollect was,

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House of Commons, Mr. Editor, on the day of the debate, and it appeared to me that *the only Member who had read the papers, or who comprehended the nature of the business*, was left in a minority. To be single in an opinion among so many wise Senators is enough to abash modest merit, or silence firm integrity; but the period is not far off, before the *honest* zeal of this single Senator shall evince that one part of true patriotism consists in not profusely squandering on *insignificant* experiments the heavy burthen of the public taxes.

“The double returns of Pethox Parvus are now totally forgotten in the multiplicity of failures and disorders, which every parish in town and country has produced, *to subvert* the opinion of the College of Physicians, respecting cow-pox.

“A court-martial is to sit on a soldier in the ——— regiment of foot, for mutiny by resisting to be cow'd according to the *orders* of the Medical Board. His refusal is grounded on there being no mention of it in the articles of war; on the report of the Physicians, which allows it is not a security; and on some cases in the regiment, in which the soldiers have been tormented with itching eruptions, ever since they were forced to submit to vaccination.

“*A Caution.*—Notice is hereby given, that on account of the disputes which have *divided* the Royal Jennerian Institution, the birth-day of the Doctor will not be henceforth observed. And whereas one J—— W——, a physician, has obstructed persons coming to be vaccinated at the central station house of the said



that either the printer or the publisher lived in Broadway, Westminster."

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Royal Institution, this is to warn all persons against the tricks of that said physician, as the Society will have nothing further to do with him, or the Rev. R——— H———, they having set up a shop to *oppose* the Royal Institution.

"By some publications received from the Continent we learn, the same diseases from cow-pox, which have prevailed here, have been observed at Berlin, Warsaw, and several other places; and physicians of eminence have written against that practice, without being represented as *ignorant* and *designing* men.

"The COW-POX CHRONICLE not having yet reached BUONAPARTE, the French continue to receive their vaccination with the point of the bayonet. We sincerely hope our *Army Medical Board* will not enforce their orders with the same violence.

"The small-pox is at present very prevalent among the lower classes of people; and it is to be lamented that the confidence which these unhappy people once had in *the honour and integrity of the Faculty* has been so entirely destroyed, by the deceptions which have been practised upon them by cow-poxers. Their fears of being made the victims of new *experiments*, oblige them to trust to nature alone, and will probably from this cause swell the bill of mortality at the ensuing Christmas.

"By a letter from Sussex we learn the small-pox has appeared at Brighton this summer, and has attacked some who thought themselves *protected* by vaccination.

"The experiment of an iron-bridge over the Thames at Stains took place about the same time as that of cow-

“ I am the printer, Sir ; but can tell you  
“ who is the publisher, if you will walk in a

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pox. As the work proceeded, the expectations of the public were highly gratified ; but after expending £30,000, it was discovered on trial to want foundation. The results of vaccination seem to evince, *that* has no better ground to stand on.

“ When an *honest* Member proposed that the friends of Dr. J—— should reward him out of their own pockets instead of the public purse ; he did not know the Doctor had felt the pulse of the House.

“ We hear a meeting of the Fellows of the College of Physicians is speedily to be held, in order to take into consideration their late Report, and the assistance of the *Licentiates* will be required to *amend it*. The College of Physicians have lately been very active in preventing any physician from practising in London, without having passed an examination ; but Dr. Jenner’s infringement on their liberties has been quietly passed over, because, perhaps, they discovered *he was bringing Grist to their Mill*.

“ Reports are received in London of very melancholy failures of cow-pox security at Ringwood, and other places.

“ *Anticipation*—Being an account of the debate which will take place next Sessions of Parliament, on the *unamended Report* of the College of Physicians.

“ A meeting of the exterminating societies was held at the Horse and Cow, Battle Bridge, to take into consideration the conduct of *one* of their active secretaries, who is suspected of ingrafting Jacobin principles, under the masque of VACCINE INSTRUCTIONS.

“ moment. Do you speak, Sir, of *the Cow-pox Chronicle* ?”

“ Yes, certainly. But, I am going towards Hyde-park Corner, and should be glad to avoid driving out of my way. Can you oblige me with a single copy of that paper ?”

“ I have not got one, besides what I filed.  
 “ It is my constant practice to file every thing  
 “ I print ; and on many hazardous occasions  
 “ I require a promise of safety from the au-  
 “ thor, to avoid the consequences of printing

“ *Queries.*—Will there be a motion in the next Sessions of Parliament for a more accurate Report from the College of Physicians ?

“ Is not the respectable *mass* of evidence from Princes, Peers, Parsons, and Physicians, which first recommended cow-pox to the notice of Parliament, *totally subverted* and set aside by the diseases, failures, and deaths, which have indisputably occurred in the practice of the last five years ?

“ Will the College of Physicians *now* venture to assert that vaccination is increasing in the general esteem, and that it is a *protection* to be relied on, for a *security* against the small-pox ?

“ As the Commissioners of Public Accounts have established a new fund called the *Refund*, will the money voted for MEDICAL JOBS be submitted to their Report ?”

“ a suspected libel. It is very difficult now-  
“ a-days, to say what is not a libel.”

“ I think Mr. Birch’s poetry and the advertisement about Mr. Ring, in the Cowpox Chronicle, are very much resembling a libel; for he actually pronounces Mr. Ring to be a “ *liar.*” I suspect the poetical piece, however, to have been composed by some friend of Mr. Birch: and I think the same of a few other parts of the Chronicle.”

“ Perhaps Dr. Moseley and he consulted  
“ together: but, Mr. Birch gave it me as his  
“ own; at least, it came to me with the rest  
“ of his manuscript for publication.”

“ Has this Chronicle had much circulation?”

“ I understand that 250 copies of it were  
“ stamped at Somerset House, for sale. All  
“ newspapers must be stamped. And there  
“ were 750 more printed, to give away. I  
“ printed 1000 for Mr. Birch in all.”

“ He has been known to me above twenty  
years. I am sorry to find he is quite in the



wrong about the cow-pox. They say he has just printed a *new* anonymous pamphlet: it is likely to bring a nest of hornets about his ears!"

"Has he? I am surprized at that; for  
"Mr. Birch was so well pleased with the  
"work I did for him, that I thought he  
"would have done me the favour to employ  
"me in future. He published another book  
"against the cow-pox, which he gave me.  
"It was called,——I forget what."

"Is it entitled, *Serious Reasons for opposing the Cow-pox?*"

"Oh, yes! Sir; I remember now: and  
"some Doctor has also written against it.  
"That book is sold likewise by Mr. Bruce,  
"who publishes Mr. Birch's Cow-pox  
"Chronicle, at No. 10, Round Court,  
"Strand. I will write it down for you, Sir."

"Do so, if you please, Mr. Chalmers."

The visitor then withdrew, with a written direction to the publisher's. All this was a *matter of fact*: and it is quite as *pertinent* a

fact as any thing can be, to prove who is responsible for the newspaper called "THE COW-POX CHRONICLE, OR MEDICAL REPORTER;" of which thrice as many were printed to be given away, as sold. Doubtless Mr. Birch must ere long find himself playing a bad game, at which he will be a great loser, both in his pocket and reputation. But I have yet another short conversation to relate, tending to prove the same point, and bearing upon the question—Whose is the anonymous pamphlet on the Ringwood Cases?

Yesterday, the 27th of January, I was told by a gentleman at the Surgeons' College, where Mr. Birch's conduct is very well known, that he had either published, or announced his intention of publishing, an additional number of the Cow-pox Chronicle! I therefore went to Bruce, his bookseller, in Round Court, Strand; and asked for Mr. BIRCH's *Chronicle*.—"Yes, Sir," replied the bookseller's wife; and immediately she gave it to me.

I believe there is another, said I; is there not?—"No, Sir, not by Mr. Birch."

I am told that something has appeared in continuation of this. Have you nothing more of his?—" Oh, yes ; here is a little new " publication,"—giving me the last anonymous one.

This is not what I mean, was my remark. Is there nothing like the Chronicle itself, in the same newspaper form ?

" Mr. Birch tells me he shall publish " another of the same kind, on the *first* of " April ; but, I have not any thing more of " his at present."

Did he himself tell you so?—" Yes, " Sir ; and he has laid me under an obligation to serve him, for attending our child " nearly two years. I understand that Mr. " Hughes is likewise indebted to him, for attendance on his family ; and this may be " the reason why Mr. Hughes publishes for " Mr. Birch."

Pray, Madam, is your name Bruce?—" Yes, Sir, I am Mrs. Bruce ; and I believe " you are Surgeon Blair. We have cause to " remember your kindness."

I do not know to what she alluded ; but having acknowledged my name, I took leave of her. A gentleman stood by, and heard all this conversation ; from which, I presume you and I shall draw the same inference. Surely Mr. Birch will not publish again, unless it be in recantation of his errors !

One very striking fact is demonstrated by the contents of Mr. Birch's anonymous Narrative, too much affecting the honour and dignity of the Royal College of Surgeons, to be passed over without comment : I mean his having access to the private papers or books, and the College " REGISTER " (as he names it) ; AND HAVING THENCE EXTRACTED AND PRINTED WHATEVER HE PLEASED, FOR THE PURPOSE OF CALUMNIATING THE ROYAL COLLEGE OF PHYSICIANS, AND OF EXPOSING THEIR REPORT ON VACCINATION TO PUBLIC CONTEMPT ! Has he not indeed done this ? If he be the author of the vile pamphlet in question (which I think clearly proved) he fraudulently availed himself of his opportunity and privilege, as belonging to the Court of Assistants ! But, why do I say *privilege* ; when I know and affirm that no individual,



*even a member of that Court*, has a right to examine or touch those papers, without the express leave of the Board of Curators? I have authority to declare, that Mr. Birch had no such permission; that he did not condescend to ask for it; and that he acted thus treacherously, without the knowledge of the Secretary himself! What will now be done with this "HONEST MAN," I pretend not to foretell: but I am persuaded the Curators will do justice to themselves, to both Colleges, and to the World at large.

I have by chance discovered the congratulatory letter which you sent to me when MR. LIPSCOMBE'S party was defeated, at the great debating-room in Piccadilly, during your last visit to London: but, alas! how mistaken you were, Sir, in supposing "*that would be the expiring effort of anti-vaccinists. They die hard,*" you write, "*and hardened.*" That they are "*hardened*" enough, I admit; but not that they are *dead*. You have already had sufficient evidence of this; and I confess they appear even still more "*hardened*" than you suspected, during what seemed to be their "*expiring*" moments. In my former "*DIALOGIC PAMPHLET,*" as Dr. Lettsom calls

it, I shewed to what lengths this "chosen band" had then gone in their mad career : but the late conduct of Mr. Birch really seems to be a full consummation of all the stratagems they could invent, as a *dernier ressort* ! \*

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\* My Dialogue, entitled "THE VACCINE CONTEST," was complimented by Dr. Lettsom, as "*the best EXPOSURE of the Rowleyan and Moseleyan false assertions and opprobrious names yet published.*" I offered it to the world as a *mere exposure*, and considered it undeserving attention in any other than that simple point of view : but, having composed the title and body of the essay, of select "Rowleyan" materials chiefly, I find it has been conjectured by some superficial readers (who, perhaps, looked no farther than the title-page) to be a violently uncharitable production ! If there be any thing of this kind in it, the credit is certainly due to the "CHOSEN BAND," who supplied me with most of its precious contents. The matter is theirs ; the form only is my own.

Mr. Ring, in his accustomed facetious style, gives a very lively description of the leading members of this "CHOSEN BAND," which is too remote from my subject to be copied in a note ; but I cannot refrain from transcribing several passages from his "ROWLAND FOR AN OLIVER," which shew two things : *first*, why Mr. Birch cannot love that witty gentleman ; and *secondly*, why the anonymous author of the RINGWOOD NARRATIVE and the avowed author of the SERIOUS REASONS are so closely united, that they appear to be ONE !

Without any assistance from me, it is impossible that a candid reader of the subjoined

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“ There is, indeed, one regularly-bred practitioner in the chosen band ; but, either from want of capacity or of application, he is generally considered to be the greatest B—— in the profession. He is a sworn enemy to all innovation, and of course to all improvement ; and has two reasons for wishing long life and prosperity to the small-pox. The first is, that it is profitable to himself : the second, that he thinks it *a merciful dispensation of Providence, to ease a poor man of the burden of his family.*

“ Mr. Birch’s new publication is entitled, A Copy of the Answer to the Queries of the London College of Surgeons, and of a Letter to the College of Physicians, respecting the Experiment of Cow-pox : to which is added, *what he calls* the second edition of Serious Reasons for uniformly objecting to the Practice of Vaccination.

“ In his former publications, Mr. Birch pretended to know more than Mr. Cline, and the other zealous friends of vaccination ; in the present, he pretends to know more than the College of Physicians. This shews that his present production is *a chip of the Old Block.*

“ He *republishes* his ‘ Serious Reasons ;’ which, of course, I shall reconsider. It is difficult to conceive, as the Reviewers observe, how any man could seriously offer such reasons to the public, as an apology for his conduct ; but it is an established maxim with Mr. Birch, that every man has a right to expose his own folly as often as he pleases.

strictures on Mr. Birch can doubt, that he is worthy of being announced as the author of

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“ Mr. Birch publishes the queries put by the Court of Assistants of the College of Surgeons to the members of that society. The first was, How many persons have you vaccinated? Mr. Birch’s answer is, He has never vaccinated any. To the second question, Whether any of his patients had had the small-pox? his answer is, He has seen some patients labouring under the *natural small-pox by inoculation* after vaccination. Had this expression escaped from the pen of any man but Mr. Birch, a member of the chosen band, he would have been set down as *a natural* for writing such nonsense. He informs us, that he has also seen patients vaccinated in a variolous atmosphere, with the intention of preventing the small-pox; but the experiment did not succeed. I will tell him the reason; *it was performed too late.*

“ Mr. Birch, having seen scrofulous tumours *after* vaccination, asks how this circumstance can be reconciled with the opinion of a celebrated surgeon, that no such disease is excited *by* vaccination? I answer, that it is excited by some other cause; and it is much to be wished, that Mr. Birch, and the other members of the chosen band, would learn the difference between the *post hoc* and the *propter hoc*, before they write again on this subject.

“ The third question of the College of Surgeons is, Have any bad effects occurred in your experience, in consequence of vaccination? Mr. Birch has not had any experience in the practice; yet he wishes it to be thought, that he knows more of the matter than those who have. When, therefore, he pretends that the cow-pox produces



the anonymous Narrative and Cow-pox Chronicle.—The great importance of ob-

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new diseases, we appeal from his decision to those who are better informed.

“ The fourth question is, Whether vaccination is increasing or decreasing ?—Mr. Birch gives his opinion, that it is decreasing, at least in London ; and those who want to know what is passing out of London, must not apply to Mr. Birch. He thinks one of the principal causes of this decrease is the disagreement of the two Societies instituted for its support ; namely, the Vaccine Pock Institution and the Royal Jennerian Society. He tells us, that these institutions were originally one ; which, he observes, is of great importance in the present question. It is, therefore, of the greater importance, once more to correct Mr. Birch, to contradict his erroneous assertion ; and to shew, that he knows very little even of what is passing *in* London. These two Societies never were united, and consequently never could separate.

“ Equally erroneous is his assertion, that the Jennerian Society insist on two sorts of cow-pox ; at least, if he means in the human species ; and it is probable that there is no person so perfectly uninformed as not to know, that there are at least two sorts in the cow.

“ Mr. Birch thinks the conduct of the Jennerian Society, in dismissing their inoculator, not calculated to recommend vaccination to the public. The Society, however, found that measure indispensably necessary ; and are not accountable to Mr. Birch, or any other opponent, for their conduct ; or for their CAUTION against the officer whom they thought proper to discard. \*

taining this collateral and independent proof, must be my apology for so a long an extract.

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“ In his letter to the Committee of the College of Physicians, Mr. Birch tells us, the reward was given by Parliament to Dr. Jenner, because the Report of the Committee of the House of Commons appointed to examine into his discovery asserted, that ‘ vaccination effectually secured the patient from the small-pox ; that it ‘ never *was followed* by eruptions ; and that it had never ‘ been known to be fatal.’ This is a very gross misrepresentation, and worthy of a member of the chosen band. It was not asserted by the Committee, that vaccination was *never followed* by eruptions ; but that, according to the evidence laid before the Committee, it *did not excite* them.

“ He then says, what *has* happened in the Herefordshire regiment, &c. *have* probably been reported to the Committee.

“ Some of our Reviewers appeal to *the conscience* of Mr. Birch and his bookseller, and might with equal reason appeal to the consciences of Dr. Moseley and his booksellers, asking whether the re-publication of these pamphlets, under different titles, is not a *take-in*.

“ Instead of rejoicing at the tidings of Dr. Jenner’s happy discovery, and instituting a series of experiments, in order to ascertain its real merits, Dr. M. continued to move in the same giddy circle of fashionable folly and dissipation, as he had moved in before ;

He danc’d, and he play’d, and he sung, and whene’er  
A fiddle was heard, to be sure he was there.

“ Truth lies in a well ; and she may lie there a long

But how shall I proceed, my dear Sir? I am perfectly confounded to discover the unprecedented lengths to which this Hospital Surgeon has at last gone, in his endeavour to alarm the public! When I began the present LETTER, it had not occurred to me as possible, that I should have to answer a mean anonymous *Narrative* of Mr. Birch, after the explanations I knew he had received from his medical correspondent at Ringwood! Much less did I suspect, that the "Cow-pox Chronicle" (which I first heard of during my return from Ringwood) could demand any attention from me; nor did I con-

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while before an anti-vaccinist will find her out. If the House of Commons wish to know his opinion of vaccination, they must excuse him for coming before them with two black eyes; one of his drunken companions having kicked and cuffed him the night before, and put him under the table.

"If Mr. B. is free of every place of public amusement in London, and every night at one of them, treading on a gentleman's toes, and then complaining of the drubbing he receives—if he spends in drinking and debauchery, the time which he should spend in professional pursuits, let him not pretend to dispute about a professional question; otherwise we shall say,

Lusisti satis, edisti satis, atque bibisti,  
Tempus abire tibi."

ceive that the author of those two infamous publications would condescend to expose his "round unvarnished tale" among the inexperienced pupils at St. Thomas's Hospital : but least of all did I expect, that he would finally prove himself so unblushingly impudent, as to employ the very BILL-STICKERS, to display his artful terrorism in staring letters upon the dead-walls of our metropolis ! Yet, Sir, has all this indecent and quackish dishonesty been carried into full effect, by a Man too who complains of his being sorely ABUSED AND VILIFIED BY THE COLLEGE for "*honestly and fairly*" differing from the misguided Faculty. Yes, indeed, he does "*differ*;" and I fear he will always "*differ*" from them so widely, as not to be considered of the same honourable fraternity ! Let him go, as I doubt not he soon will, to the company of those who "glory in their shame;" and who will respect him quite as well, if not rather better, for having been so justly "abused and vilified."

These reflections are extorted from me, by the indignant emotions I have just experienced, in beholding one of MR. BIRCH'S VERY LARGE POSTING-BILLS, as I rode along



Oxford Street ; and of which I took the annexed copy ! My coachman tells me, that he has seen the same about Piccadilly, &c. &c. and without doubt they are to be found all over London ; where I am sorry that the greatest consternation prevails, among high and low, rich and poor, on account of the gross falsehoods which are industriously circulated respecting the Ringwood cases ! You will observe a mistake in this posting-bill, of ESSEX being printed instead of *Hampshire* ; which might perchance have been occasioned by the Author's fatuity, after "regaling with claret and burgundy" at the last "professional banquet" he was invited to by "the Fellows of the College," with whom he too often spends "his cheerful hours in laughing at the follies and credulity of mankind," but forgets that he himself is liable to be ridiculed in his turn ! \*

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\* Since Mr. B. stuck up his *folio Placards* about the town, I have been informed by a respectable bookseller that the manuscript of this anonymous "Narrative" was offered to him, but that he refused to publish it ; after which Mr. B. went with his "*Tale*" to the present publisher, who took pity on the author, and complied with his request ! Perhaps Mr. Birch would not easily have found any person besides an old acquaintance, to lend his name for such a purpose !

(The Posting-Bill.)

“ FATAL EFFECTS OF COW-POX !

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“ THIS DAY IS PUBLISHED, PRICE  
1s. 6d. A TREATISE ON THE FATAL EF-  
FECTS OF COW-POX PROTECTION; MA-  
NIFESTED BY A NARRATIVE OF OC-  
CURRENCES WHICH HAVE RECENTLY  
HAPPENED, AT RINGWOOD IN ESSEX.

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“ I will a round, unvarnished Tale deliver.”

SHAKSPEARE.

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“ THE HEADS OF FAMILIES ARE MOST  
EARNESTLY ENTREATED TO PERUSE  
THIS TREATISE.

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“ PRINTED AND SOLD BY J. F.  
HUGHES, BOOKSELLER, No. 5, WIGMORE  
STREET, CAVENDISH SQUARE: AND TO  
BE HAD OF ALL THE BOOKSELLERS.”

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When Mr. Birch wrote his “ Serious Rea-  
sons” and the “ Letter to Mr. Rogers,” his

jealousy for the honour of professional men was perhaps arrived at its very AKMH ; but, how is the gold become dim, and the precious metal vile ! He then could say, “ The  
 “ experiment of vaccination has been carried  
 “ on with a degree of *art* which does not au-  
 “ gur much in favour of the cause ;” and he could ask, “ Was it not highly reprehensible to conceal industriously all the cases  
 “ which occurred to the prejudice of vaccination, while every thing that could tend  
 “ to lessen the credit of inoculation, was  
 “ *most artfully* propagated ?” I do not here stop to answer his calumny ; and shall only ask Mr. Birch in return—If he thinks such deceitful conduct “ highly reprehensible,” why has he now acted tenfold worse than he is able to prove, against these *artful* defenders of vaccination ?\* I hold it wrong, under

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\* This lampooning pamphleteer deals out the very scum of vulgar and licentious personality ; so that he hopes to effect by *low buffoonery*, what he cannot accomplish by “ *serious reasons*.” Take, for example, these few extracts from his Chronicle, in addition to what I have already laid before you :

“ *Translated into the German and French Languages, a Collection of Orations made in favour of Cow-pox, by the Rev. SIDNEY SMITH, before the Ladies at the Royal Institution ; by the Rev. ROWLAND HILL, at the*

any circumstances, “to do evil that good may come;” and therefore, shall not justify dis-

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London Tavern; by W. WILBERFORCE, Esq. in the House of Commons; and Dr. PEMBERTON, at the College of Physicians. To which will be added, the Speech of Dr. LETTSOM to the Cow-keepers, at Camberwell Fair.

“As the Clergy and the Ladies have entered so warmly into the practice of vaccination, the Faculty have agreed to *exterminate* that odious word Pox; and since in the study of Botany, the *naughty names* are taught in Greek and Latin, so the terms *Pethox Parvus* and *Pethox Bestialis* are in future to be substituted for small-pox and cow-pox.

“*Extract of a letter from Bath.*—The Faculty of this place, who used to be so unanimous, are now formed into parties of Cow-poxers and Anti-cowpoxers. The SERIOUS REASONS which have been published against that practice, and the return of the College of Surgeons, allude to so much matter of fact, that it is impossible to find arguments to contradict it. The advocates for the practice, therefore, have recourse to *policy*.

“*Wants a place, a young Woman* with a beautiful breast of milk: can have a good character from the Matron of a Lying-in Hospital; though the Doctors refuse to recommend her, because she will not have her child cow-poxed. Enquire at the Lactarium, near the bosom of Rowland Hill’s Chapel.—N.B. Plenty for two, if well fed.

“To be sold, the remaining *Leases* of several *Station-Houses*, late in the occupation of the Cow-pox Institution, having no further occasion for them. They are well



honest means of supporting even your cause. But, it will be worthy of notice, my dear Sir,

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situated for pawnbrokers' shops, or would be convenient residences for Methodist preachers, who intend to carry on the trade.

"The following paper was read by a Clergyman doing duty in a parish church. 'The prayers of this congregation are desired for a child in great danger from the small-pox, after three years *protection* by vaccination.'

"Last week as Lord H—— P—— was riding behind a Cheltenham Doctor, through a dirty lane in Gloucestershire, the horse suddenly started at a cow in an hedge, and flung his rider. His Lordship was much bespattered, but the fall proves only a *dislocation*.

"*Court of Common Pleas.*

"Fells. Coll. Physis. Pltffs.—John Doe, Deft.

"Counsel for Pltffs. argued, the Deft. had by pamphlets, paragraphs, and prints, investigated the truths respecting cow-pox, *and rendered their sage opinions and logical Report null and void*; thereby exposing them to the remarks of their best friends, the Worshipful Company of Apothecaries.

"Counsel for Deft. pleaded, the Pltff. had given first cause of aggression, by pretending a conspiracy between Deft. and certain Licentiates of their College, with others; and with gross and ungentlemanly language, called him *a designing and ignorant person*, thereby endeavouring to misrepresent Deft.'s *honest zeal*, and injure him in the opinion of His Majesty and the High Court of Parliament.

"Verdict for Deft. with costs."

that the same man who advances the above charge against others, and pretends “never to admit HEARSAY evidence,” (although “every post brings him accounts of failures”) is the *last* person to receive the direct testimony of credible eye-witnesses, and the very *first* to propagate a “hearsay” rumour without examination! If, as he says, “to vindicate truth and expose error be the *noblest* exertion of our faculties”—what deed is it wilfully to suppress truth and publish error? \*

To describe this matter of accusation in a few words: A surgeon, whose age and professional rank should exempt him from base or mercenary feelings, affects to be wiser than the united Colleges of the country (nevertheless confessing his own total inexperience in vaccination), and chooses to do his utmost towards spreading a calamitous pestilence! Whether his motive for doing so be really good or bad, let conscience decide: to his own Master, he must finally stand or fall.

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\* See Mr. Birch's Letter to Mr. Rogers, dated July 6th, 1805. Has not this very scrupulous friend of *truth* found it convenient to adopt less rigid principles for his moral conduct, since 1805?

But, he determines at any rate to sow the seeds of death in the metropolis, which will  
 LESSEN THE BURTHEN OF MANY A POOR  
 MAN'S FAMILY, and thus may convert a  
 public evil into a private benefit. He hears,  
 not from a medical man, but from a "Mem-  
 ber of Parliament," \* that an unprecedented

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\* Until near the latter end of the present month (January) I did not know that Mr. Birch had adopted a most effectual mode of *poisoning* the minds of all the unsuspecting medical students at ST. THOMAS'S AND GUY'S HOSPITALS, where they are more numerous than at any other institution in London! For several weeks, the following advertisement was suspended in the surgery at St. Thomas's; which, you will perceive, agrees very much with that inserted by him in the Morning Post, about the same time:

*" Extract of a Letter addressed to Mr. Birch, Surgeon to St. Thomas's Hospital, from a Member of Parliament.*

" At Ringwood, in Hants, vaccination has completely failed, and your prediction is also verified: for,

" Fifty-three persons have been *duly* vaccinated, two of whom died in the process.

" The rest, fifty-one in number, *all* caught the natural small-pox within two months. Eighteen of this number died of small-pox; thirty-three recovered.

" Nine persons, vaccinated three years since, were seized with the small-pox, and suffered severely.

" Mr. G. Rose has sent for Dr. Jenner, to investigate the matter.

" J. B."

mortality had happened in a very "narrow circle," as he expresses it; and imagines this "matter of fact at Ringwood *totally* subverts the Report of the College of Physicians, which is far from satisfactory." He exultingly writes to the identical place where alone the exact truth could be learnt; and earnestly entreats a competent medical witness, of whom he entertained "very honorable" sentiments, to acquaint him minutely with all "the circumstances." THIS ACT ALONE, of writing to Ringwood, proves that he did not think the first report deserving of implicit belief: but he sends it, nevertheless, to the Hospital of which he is surgeon, crude and incredible as it was, to excite an alarm in the minds of young inexperienced students; and next, to rouse the public attention, he inserts a similar "unvarnished tale," as if "*authentic*," in one of our most popular Journals. As soon as this mischief was done, his answer from Ringwood arrives; the reported cow-pock failures are flatly denied by his well-informed correspondent, and several important explanatory paragraphs appear forthwith in the newspapers! Does he now relent? Does he tear away the advertisement, so prematurely hung up at St. Tho-



mas's Hospital? Does he apologize in the Morning Post for his precipitate credulity, and endeavour to allay the public feeling so wantonly agitated? No such thing! He does the very reverse! He proceeds (*but not blindly now*) in the path of error and confusion: he prepares and announces a new pamphlet, written with the manifest design of repeating his offence, under these most aggravating circumstances. He pretends to be satisfied with the "hearsay" story of an unprofessional gentleman, though quite at variance with what he had learnt from Mr. Westcott, who knew all the facts. He is besides aware that medical persons, of at least as honest and respectable a character as himself (in the opinion of fit judges) were gone to the very spot, in order to ascertain the whole truth; and that there were numerous suffering inhabitants, deeply concerned in this investigation, disposed to watch their movements, and to point out the cases deemed most exceptionable. After all their enquiries, conducted with the greatest care and fidelity, the Winchester and Salisbury papers first, and then those of the metropolis, announce the result as being consolatory to the people of Ringwood, who had been among the foremost

to decry vaccination. But our author laughs at this ; and attempts to calumniate the three persons who had been formally deputed, with the assistance of an independent and learned physician from Salisbury, to clear up the truth, and whose reputation was at stake if they acted amiss. One of these medical enquirers, having learnt that a false account is likely to be published, repeatedly offers to communicate authentic and essential facts to the unknown author : yet these offers, so explicitly made, are rejected with disdain ! The writer proceeds to execute his plan, and finds it necessary to strengthen a bad cause by the authority of Mr. Westcott and his fellow-surgeon at Ringwood, whose evidence did not on the present occasion accord with the author's wishes. For that purpose, he ransacks the various documents at the College ; and without permission from the Curators, extracts and prints old stories to illustrate new circumstances : nay, he even recites *three cases of supposed failure*, which Mr. Westcott had particularly explained as not attributable to vaccination ! And that he might still farther establish his point, some part of a communication deposited at the College by Mr. Astley Cooper, is surreptitiously copied,

published, and commented upon ; which is done likewise, without the consent of the Board of Curators, and was unknown to Mr. Cooper himself. \* When the poor anonymous production sees the light, its contents shew the name of its author ; and a former anonymous publication, on being compared with it, appears also to be the fruit of ONE person's secret labours. Of these he sells what he can, and gives away what he is unable to sell ; not forgetting, however, to announce the “ Narrative” in all its false colours, for the benefit of the populace, by large posting-bills upon the bare walls of London, after the manner of an empirical advertisement ! The author feels comforted by his imaginary security ; but is not clever enough to hide himself from the vengeful eye of those who have been so grossly deceived ! What will be the final effect of this deliberate misconduct, I dread to think.

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\* In a letter from Mr. Astley Cooper, written January 28th, he informs me “ his Report to the Royal College of Surgeons was never shewn to any person previous to its being sent to the College, and since that time Mr. C. is perfectly ignorant in what way it has been disposed of ”—consequently he was as “ ignorant” of Mr. Birch's design, as Messrs. Westcott and Macilwain of Ringwood !

The public must, however, know how to estimate the character of such a man !

Let us now briefly notice some of the curious remarks contained in his pamphlet and “Cow-pox Chronicle.” I shall begin with his preface, containing the solid motives for “*choosing to conceal his name* ;” which, indeed, has not been managed by the author with all that successful dexterity he intended and hoped, when this tragedy was first conceived at Spring Gardens !

The author assigns *two* weighty reasons for concealing his name ; one of which he calls his “ONLY” motive, and the other his “PRINCIPAL” motive ! The *only* one is, lest he should be “considered as having some base or selfish design” for opposing vaccination. His *principal* motive is, the apprehension of being “shut out of some of the pleasantest parties and best dinners.” I leave you, Sir, to conjecture, whether his fears on both these subjects be not too well grounded ; at least he is not, in my opinion, likely again to “regale with claret and burgundy at a *professional* banquet,” unless he wishes to be roasted. You may remember



how sadly he was regaled in 1802, after a dinner of this kind, when “toasts, songs, and compliments, in honour of VACCINA, were the order of the day.” I am also informed, that he very lately got into a similar awkward predicament, at another convivial meeting; where, being asked for a sentimental “*toast*” in his turn, this son of Bacchus first made a long pause, and then only whined out—“Gentlemen, I wish you all a merry Christmas!” This was not the sort of “*toast*” expected by a club of vaccinarians, from one of the *bons vivants* who “is far from confining himself to humble port and his own family fire-side.”

That sceptical gentleman tells us, “the subject of the cow-pox was left undecided, when the Report of the College of Physicians was delivered to Parliament.” Very true; and it was therefore of importance for the Parliament to take good care that this question should be finally decided and set at rest, by the highest medical tribunal in the United Kingdom. But “unfortunately,” he says, “some members, who were well acquainted with all the manœuvres by which vaccination had been conducted, were out of town;

otherwise, the candid proposal of an individual member ('*the only* member who had read 'the papers or comprehended the business,' and who afterwards, perhaps, consulted Mr. B. on the Ringwood affair), that the due reward of Dr. Jenner's merit should flow from the purses of those friends who thought so highly of the experiment, and not from the public revenue, would have been seconded and supported." This is another *truism*; for certainly, if there had been two such "candid" members, the proposal "would have been SECONDED:" but as it happened to be the general sentiment of the House of Commons, at both Sessions of Parliament, that your discovery would prove an incalculable benefit to the *nation*, they very justly resolved that the *national* purse should make an acknowledgment; not as a full compensation indeed, but as a token of *national* gratitude for your public services. It is to be regretted, that this wise decision was not closely followed by another, which would have been the completion of your wishes, viz. to prevent (as far as legislative measures can do) the crime of diffusing and perpetuating the variolous plague by promiscuous inoculation, and by the cruel exposure of infected

persons at places of common resort. I know not exactly what are "those arbitrary orders issued by the Army Medical Board," of which Mr. Birch repeatedly complains; but I sincerely wish the higher powers would act with the same decision and promptitude as our naval and military commanders, whenever they foresee that any "arbitrary orders" will infallibly preserve the lives of our brave and patriotic defenders.

"But, Heaven forbid!" exclaims this humane author, "that the Senate should ever be induced to pass an Act by which the children of the poor would be deprived of *the blessings* of inoculation." Yes, forsooth! he who considers "this disease a merciful provision to lessen the burthen of a poor man's family," must very much care about "*the blessings*" communicated by his pestiferous lancet! The Ringwood story will teach him, how manifold are the blessings of variolation, while crowds of the inoculated have free course among their unprotected neighbours! Even Dr. Adams, who disperses thousands of small-pox patients yearly about the streets of London, admits that "NO ONE SHOULD VENTURE TO THE METROPOLIS

AS LONG AS HE IS LIABLE TO THE SMALL-POX !” This is a fair and just concession.

Mr. Birch tells us, “ the first opinions,” and I suppose the last too, “ of the Anti-vaccinists were founded upon FACTS.” Such “ FACTS,” verily, as “ THE MATTER OF FACT AT RINGWOOD ;” and we shall presently see what sort of “ FACTS” these were. He then goes on to assure his readers “ that the Report of the College of Physicians ALLOWS the evidence produced before the Committee of the House of Commons to be totally overthrown ; that they ALLOW there is no spurious cow-pox, and that failure, disorders, and death, sometimes occur from some deviation in the genuine Jennerian cow-pox, which (*mark this*) AFTER A PRECISE PERIOD, FAILS IN ITS SECURITY, AND, IF IT DOES ANY THING, PRODUCES A NEW KIND OF ERUPTION, TUMOR, OR ULCERATION. My dear Sir, is not this a grossly erroneous and scandalous assertion ? Can you find any such allowances in the Report of the College ? I hardly can refrain from believing Mr. Birch labours under a radical obliquity or derange-



ment of his faculties, or else that I do ! For, the very opposite sentiments are contained in my copy of the Report. \*

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\* “ The testimonies before the College of Physicians are very decided in declaring, that vaccination does less mischief to the constitution, and less frequently gives rise to other diseases, than the small-pox, either natural or inoculated. The College feel themselves called upon to state this strongly, because it has been objected to vaccination, that it produces *new, unheard-of, and monstrous diseases*. Of such assertions no proofs have been produced, and, after diligent enquiry, the College believe them to have been either the inventions of designing, or the mistakes of ignorant men. In these respects then, in its mildness, its safety, and its consequences, the individual may look for the peculiar advantages of vaccination.

“ It has been already mentioned, that the evidence is not universally favourable, although it is in truth nearly so; for there are a few who entertain sentiments differing widely from those of the great majority of their brethren. The College, therefore, deemed it their duty, in a particular manner, to enquire upon what grounds and evidence the opposers of vaccination rested their opinions. From personal examination, as well as from their writings, they endeavoured to learn the full extent and weight of their objections. They found them without experience in vaccination, supporting their opinions by *hearsay* information, and hypothetical reasoning : and, upon investigating the facts which they advanced, they found them to be either misapprehended or misrepresented ; or, that they fell under the description of cases

But how do you think he proves these insidious allegations? Not by quoting the Report of the College of Physicians; but, by

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of imperfect small-pox, before noticed, and which the College have endeavoured fairly to appreciate.

“Several causes have had a partial operation in retarding the general adoption of vaccination: some writers have greatly undervalued the security it affords, while others have considered it to be *of a temporary nature only*; but, if any reliance is to be placed on the statements which have been laid before the College, its power of protecting the human body from the small-pox, though not perfect indeed, is abundantly sufficient to recommend it to the prudent and dispassionate; especially as the small-pox, in the few instances where it has subsequently occurred, has been generally mild and transient. The opinion that vaccination affords but a *temporary* security is supported by no analogy in nature, nor by the facts which have hitherto occurred.

“Were encouragement given to vaccination, by offering it to the poorer classes without expence, there is little doubt that it would in time supersede the inoculation for the small-pox, and thereby various sources of variolous infection would be cut off: but, till vaccination becomes general, it will be impossible to prevent the constant recurrence of the natural small-pox, by means of those who are inoculated; except it should appear proper to the Legislature to adopt, in its wisdom, some measure by which those who still, from terror or prejudice, prefer the small-pox to the vaccine disease, may, in thus consulting the gratification of their own feelings, be prevented from doing mischief to their neighbours.”—  
See the Report of the Royal College, pp. 4, 5, 6.

extracting eight lines from “ Mr. A. Cooper’s Answer to the Queries of the College of Surgeons !” from which he then draws this logical inference : “ Thus we have the authority “ of a celebrated Teacher for calling this *new* “ and fatal species of ulceration, the *vaccine* “ *ulcer* ; and we have the opinion of the College of Physicians, for saying *these*” (new and fatal) “ ulcers arise from the genuine “ cow-pox.” How monstrous ! How perverse ! How artfully disingenuous ! Is it possible that he can give such a mischievous turn to the language of the College Report, and actually believe his own construction ? Is this the “ round and unvarnished tale” which he announces in Patagonian Capitals upon the walls of a great metropolis, and “ most earnestly entreats the heads of families to peruse ?” Are these the “ new” disorders which Mr. Birch thinks killed some of the people at Ringwood ? Yes, he declares that “ two of them died of the vaccine ulcer ;” in another place he says, “ two persons died of cow-pox ;” in another, “ two died of the vaccine inoculation ;” and in another, “ the cow-pox, in its preparation for protection, destroyed two out of sixty-two.”

Lives there a man so dead to fame, who dares  
To think such falsehood, or the thought declares ?

Well, Sir, might the College of Physicians warn their countrymen against “ the gross ignorance, the wilful misrepresentations, and the inventions of designing men ;” who, they say, “ have lessened the confidence of the lower classes in vaccination,” but whose misconduct “ will soon excite the public contempt, and not fear.”

The Critical Reviewers, like all other reflecting persons, suppose the Report of the College “ has finally stopped the mouths of these enemies to the Jennerian discovery” (Crit. Review for Jan. 1808, p. 104) : but, alas ! how far this is from being the case you see very plainly, by the recent dishonest and perfidious attempts to counteract the intentions of the College. Mr. Birch has fallen out already with the conductors of the Edinburgh Review, who gave him “ a dressing” much worse than he himself formerly “ prepared for Lord Thurlow ;” and I doubt not that he will find their pen still dipped in gall, on perusing his two last anonymous publications ! Methinks, I can anticipate the Shakespearian threats they will indignantly utter on this occasion :

“ Thou shalt be whipt with wire, and stew’d in brine,  
Smarting in ling’ring pickle.”



As Mr. Birch was in the House of Commons on the last debate respecting a national remuneration to you, he may perhaps recollect the following poignant language of Mr. Windham: "The House knows what are  
" the means employed in fortifying those  
" prejudices and *wicked arts* by which, so  
" little to our credit, the progress of the Jennerian invention has been hitherto obstructed. The House knows that there  
" are men in this country, happily not of the  
" greatest authority, who do not think it repugnant to their duty, nor find it beneath  
" their character, to try to prevent, obstruct,  
" and delay the adoption of this practice; by  
" turning against it the passions and prejudices of those who have nothing but passion  
" and prejudice to guide them, or who must be  
" considered at least as wholly incapable of  
" forming upon the subject any sound judgment of their own." And, too truly, Mr. Windham added, "it is vain to say that the  
" *arts* of such persons can produce but little  
" effect. Finally, they cannot prevent the  
" establishment of a system confirmed continually by fact and experience, and sanctioned by all that is intelligent and respectable: but, in the mean while, there

“ are the vulgar and the ignorant ; among  
“ whom arguments, such as they use, are far  
“ more than a match for all that can be pro-  
“ duced, by men who employ, for the sup-  
“ port of their cause, no arms but those of  
“ *truth and reason.*”\*

Yes, Sir, this human weakness is too well understood by an anti-vaccinist. He boasts, that “ if the lower orders of society have  
“ conceived prejudices against vaccination,  
“ it will not be easy to root them out :” † he knows that bold assertions, vehemently uttered, however false and absurd, will make an impression on weak minds ; and he knows too, that ninety-nine persons in a hundred either cannot, or will not, take due pains to refute them. He also knows, that an error expressed in three lines, may require thirty pages of refutation ; and that most probably the error will in many cases take effect, only because it is expressed so briefly and peremptorily. Besides, he knows there is yet this chance for him ; that a very short and cheap

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\* “ Debates in Parliament respecting the Jennerian Discovery,” by Mr. Charles Murray, 1808, page 111.

† Mr. Birch’s *Serious Reasons*, page 51.

“ Tale” may be read by those who are either unable or unwilling to purchase a more diffuse and expensive answer.

Let me contrast with Mr. Birch’s conduct the words of this “honest man,” when he wrote his “*Serious Reasons* :”—He says, “ I presume not to judge the motives of action in others. I know my own, and am conscious of my sincerity. If I could be actuated by party-spirit I should be unworthy the confidence of the public. I seek for truth and truth alone. With indignation therefore do I reject the charge of acting perversely, and disingenuously. When I am convinced of error, I shall take a pride in acknowledging my mistake. All I have written, has been couched in the language of seriousness and candour, not of levity or prejudice. Have the writers in favour of vaccination been able to produce any thing that has operated conviction? Certainly not. They have disproved no well-attested fact.”—[True, Mr. Birch, they cannot perform impossibilities ; they cannot convince persons who are incapable of conviction, nor disprove any facts which are *well* proved.]—“ They have confined themselves

“ (he says) for the most part to raillery and  
“ contemptuous sneers at their opponents ;  
“ and the Jennerian Society itself, when it  
“ publishes a Report, advances such unfounded  
“ assertions, and uses such equivocal lan-  
“ guage, as I think never could have been  
“ employed, had the system been a good  
“ one.” Then, by way of “ coming to  
facts,” because “ arguments may be fallacious,” he tells his readers, contrary to the truth, “ That vaccination has introduced  
“ *new disorders* into the human system, which  
“ can never be disproved.”—So much for  
the candour, the sincerity, the arguments, and  
the attested facts of Mr. Birch ; who sets up  
himself (though destitute of practice in vaccination) against all the Royal Colleges, and  
learned medical Societies, of the kingdom !

You have read his account of two deaths  
at Ringwood, from “ *the vaccine ulcer.*”  
If there really were two persons at Ringwood who, out of a large number vaccinated, had died from the rude puncture or scratch of a lancet ; let me ask, what Surgeon is so uninformed as not to know that deaths sometimes arise from other causes equally trivial, in peculiar habits of body ? Mr. Birch.



must have seen (as I repeatedly have), that the mere puncture or scratch of a finger or a toe will produce fatal consequences. In the London Medical Review for September 1799, I published one such case. The bite of a leech only, will now and then produce inflammation, swelled lymphatic glands, tedious abscesses, ill-looking sores, and what the lower class of people called “poisonous” effects. I have seen a most distressing efflorescence, attended by large vesicles, like the eruption named *pemphigus*, which continued to appear in a young woman during several months, after the simple operation of bleeding, with a lancet not known to be either rusty or unclean; and the patient was admitted for this complaint into St. Thomas’s Hospital, where Mr. Birch might have seen her: but she returned to me again uncured! Why then is it deemed marvellous, and a perfectly novel thing, if an ill-conditioned sore should actually have taken place in a vaccinated patient’s arm? Perhaps, too, the patient might be so irritable as to have become affected in a similar manner from the scratch of a needle. But, it is most of all to my purpose to assure you, that not one example of any such fatal sore, or mortified arm, happened at Ring-

wood ; and that the two patients mentioned by Mr. Birch as having died of an ulceration from the cow-pox, neither had this disease, nor any thing resembling it ! You will read a short observation on these two cases in our official Report, just printed by the Jennerian Society, and the whole of which I shall subjoin to the present Letter. I beg leave to add the further information we have obtained from Ringwood, since our Report was completed ; and you will be the more gratified at seeing this additional intelligence, when you notice how much pains have been taken to disguise or misrepresent the real facts ! Notwithstanding the sinister views and subtle attempts of anti-vaccinators, who would distort this narrative or propagate their own fictions, “ truth must ultimately prevail ;” \* although these men may, perhaps, for a while mislead the public mind, and disquiet the feelings of persons who are interested in the events.

I next shall subjoin the information Mr. Ring has received from Messrs. Macilwain and Westcott, relative to the pretended cases of “ *vaccine ulcer.*”

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\* Mr. Birch’s Serious Reasons, &c. *passim.*

*Copy of a Letter from Mr. Macilwain to  
Mr. Ring.*

“ DEAR SIR,      *Ringwood, Feb. 5, 1808.*

“ I did not inoculate either of those persons who are said have died of the *vaccine ulcer*; but as I know something of their cases, which perhaps may not be useless for your information, I subjoin it for your perusal.

“ I was sent for to Robert Burgess on the 8th day after the insertion of the vaccine matter. His arm was considerably inflamed, but there was *no ulcer or vaccine vesicle*. His death was accelerated by a determination not to take any nourishment:—and I find on enquiry, after the receipt of your letter, that ‘he did not eat a pennyworth of bread during ‘the last fortnight of his existence.’ I can only repeat what I stated at the meeting of the inhabitants in this place, that he died from want of nourishment; that is, that he absolutely starved himself to death. The inflammation of the arm yielded to fomentations and poultices, and the part inoculated never exceeded the size of a pea, nor was there ever any pus.

“ Sarah Foote had been very ill for a long time, which induced her to leave Ringwood on the commencement of inoculation : but having a great desire to return to her business (that of a grocer), she was inoculated by Mr. Westcott with vaccine matter. On the fifth day she died of apoplexy, having partly dressed herself; and, in endeavouring to tie her shoe the event happened !

“ If her arm had been so bad as to have destroyed her, she would hardly have attempted this.—I learnt these facts from her attendants and relations, who declared to me they were not surprized at her sudden death, it being an event they had long expected.

“ Robert Burgess was 75 years old ;

“ Sarah Foote 56 years old.

“ I am, dear Sir,

“ Yours very truly,

“ G. MACILWAIN.

“ P. S. I attended Robert Burgess to the day of his death ; and though I repeatedly advised and endeavoured to give him food, he almost invariably refused. I believe I once prevailed on him to take two spoonfuls of wine.”



*Copy of a Letter from Mr. Westcott to  
Mr. Ring.*

“ DEAR SIR,      *Ringwood, Feb. 7, 1808.*

“ Mr. Macilwain wrote to you yesterday, a copy of which letter I saw ; and am of the same opinion as he respecting the death of Robert Burgess and Sarah Foote, being well satisfied that their having been inoculated with cow-pox matter could have nothing to do with their death.

“ I remain yours truly,

“ W. WESTCOTT.”

Mr. Birch is disposed to ask any “ safe, old, country practitioner,” if the disasters occurring after vaccination ever happen from variolous inoculation ? Instead of asking a safe old *country* practitioner, I shall prefer to ask the safe old *London* surgeon, residing in Spring Gardens, who piques himself on having pursued the practice of his friend the Baron Dimsdale. Did Mr. Birch never see or hear of any inflammations, abscesses, ulcers, or serious complaints arising from variolous inoculation ? He thus answers my question in his “ Serious Reasons”—“ The

inoculated patient, if he dies, dies of small-pox, and of nothing but small-pox ; the appearance of the punctured arm is uniformly the same ; and the treatment is one of those judicious points in surgery, peculiar to Baron Dimsdale's method of cure." 'To be sure it is some consolation for a patient, " if he dies, to die of *nothing* but the small-pox," that inestimable blessing " to a poor man's family : " but, my own eyes have seen, and even at Ringwood too, such a train of alarming local symptoms on the arm of an inoculated person, (I allude to a case well known to W. Mills, Esq. M. P. and to Dr. Fowler,) that it requires something more than Mr. Birch's *ipse dixit* to establish his position, *viz.* that " the appearance of the punctured arm is uniformly the same." Besides, I will ask this man of veracity and credibility, if he knows nothing of a very dangerous abscess after variolation, happening at Grosvenor Place, in a child inoculated by himself, and for which he called in the aid of Mr. Cline ? Did he not tremble for the issue of that case, during the very time when he delivered his evidence to a Committee of the House of Commons against vaccination ? You know, Sir, to what I here allude, and are certain

that Mr. Birch must have felt the weakness of his own assertion, *viz.* that the small-pox in his hands had *never* been attended with dangerous consequences, and that “ he never had the misfortune to lose *one* patient out of more than two hundred.” The joint Report of the Colleges will teach him that not more than one in 166,000 vaccinated persons has died from your process;\* and if the three cases of death, mentioned by the Surgeons, were to be impartially and strictly enquired into, like the two now said to have occurred at Ringwood, perhaps even those few examples would be found attributable to some latent cause independent of vaccination.— I have informed you that the three cases of apparent failure, communicated last year to the College of Surgeons by Mr. Westcott, are considered by him *not* really imputable to the cause he then assigned; further experience having convinced him, as he very ingenuously declared in my hearing, that his former knowledge of this subject was defec-

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\* Debates in Parliament, by Mr. Murray, p. 60; Note, by the Editor.—Dr. Moseley also boasted, that he had never lost a single patient after inoculation; but Mr. Ring has published evidence of the contrary, in the case of Earl Rosslyn’s child.

tive. Mr. Birch's triumph over Mr. Westcott, whom he represents as unfriendly to vaccination, will therefore be but transient and visionary; for the public must soon perceive, that Mr. Westcott not only refutes the unfair account printed by Mr. Birch, and even recommends the cow-pox, but that he accuses his late correspondent of wilful *mala fides*! If Mr. Birch should now remain silent, and not publish the entire contents of Mr. Westcott's letter to him, I can devise no means by which his regard for truth and moral rectitude will ever be evinced to the world! I challenge him to do so, if he dares to take such a step; by which an explanation may be afforded of Mr. Westcott's words to me, that "Mr. Birch must be convinced his statement is *directly wrong*, respecting the "failure of vaccination at Ringwood." That statement was nearly similar to what appeared in the Morning Post of January the first. Mr. Westcott has since written to me, that he saw and approved of my address to the editor of a London paper in answer to Mr. Birch.\* There is, however, one dif-

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\* I shall subjoin that part of Mr. Birch's letter to Mr. Westcott, which now comes into consideration, viz.



ference (which I have only now discovered) between Mr. Birch's paragraph in the Morning Post, and those accounts which he has given in four other places respecting the death of Sarah Foote and Robert Burgess, who were alleged by him to have "*died of the vaccine ulcer.*" I will here offer a few remarks on that subject, as I have strong grounds for suspecting this story about the "vaccine ulcer" to be wholly a fabrication of his own.

The letter which a certain "Member of Parliament" (you may easily guess who) "addressed to Mr. Birch," was probably the

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"The reports which are circulating in London respecting the unfortunate results of vaccination at Ringwood, will I hope excuse me *from* troubling you with this letter.

"The state of the circumstances represented to us is, that 53 persons have been vaccinated, on the appearance of small-pox; *two of whom died under vaccination*: that 51 took the small-pox, *within seven weeks after*; of whom 18 died: and that 9 persons, vaccinated three years since, also took the small-pox."

You are requested, my dear Sir, to notice those clauses especially, which are here printed in Italics; and to compare them with the public statement of Mr. Birch at p. 10, copied by me from the Morning Post.

first intelligence communicated to our author on this affair. How does that honourable and intelligent Member express himself about the two persons in question? He only says, they “died *in* the process.” Mr. Birch himself writes to Ringwood, December 29th, and tells Mr. Westcott, they are reported to have “died *under* vaccination.” These words imply no more, than that the two patients expired *during* the advancement or continuance of the disease supposed to have been received by inoculation; and the account of Mr. Rose to the Jennerian Society (December 21st) was, that “two died *under* vaccination, without taking the small-pox:” in like manner, on the 28th of December, Mr. Rose wrote a memorandum at the town-hall of Ringwood, now lying before me, in which he says, “The two cases of death *under* vaccination have been satisfactorily accounted for.” Similar language was also used by the Rev. Mr. Davies in his letter of December 9th, to a Lady near Southampton, dated at Spring Gardens; “Two died *under* vaccination, in the greatest misery.” What sufficient authority, then, could Mr. Birch have had for publishing an article in the Morning Post (sent before the conclusion of

December, for it was inserted January the first) informing the world, that those two individuals “*died of the vaccine ulcer?*” He gives us no evidence at all in the anonymous pamphlet, for any of his declarations about the Ringwood cases ; nor does he say when or whence he learnt the “*Tale*” previously circulated in the *Morning Post* ! Are we to give such a man credit for so clear an untruth without calling on him to vindicate his claim to be believed, against the direct evidence of competent medical witnesses ? Are these positive proofs to be set aside by his unsupported and improbable assertion ? I leave you, my dear Sir, to form your own judgment on the subject ; and I doubt not that the author will quietly permit the public to do so too, without venturing to offer an explanation : you remember the adage,

“*Stulto non creditur etiam verum dicenti.*”

Mr. Birch proceeds to say, “*If seven years  
“ experiment has only taught us that we had  
“ no ground to set out upon, &c. we may  
“ fairly reason, from the mischiefs which  
“ have already happened, that the experiment  
“ will be abandoned in half that period of  
“ time, with resentment and indignation*

“ against those who have led the world into  
“ so *fatal* an error.” This bold taunting and  
vaticination accord with one of his “ Serious  
Reasons,” formerly published : “ Neither  
“ does it argue much in favour of the *wisdom*  
“ of the faculty, to adopt a practice which  
“ the first leaders seem to know nothing  
“ about, after seven years experience ; except  
“ that it fully contradicts the evidence they  
“ produced in the House of Commons in its  
“ favour.” So then, he not only is “ wiser  
in his own conceit than seven men that can  
render a reason,” but even thinks himself  
possessed of more “ wisdom” than the whole  
faculty of physic and surgery ! Perhaps the  
“ resentment and indignation” he talks of,  
may chance to fall on his own pate, for the  
“ error” which he has “ led the world into”  
by “ a round unvarnished Tale.” \*

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\* Mr. Birch seems determined to bring down on his own head the punishment of “ him that, being often reprov'd, hardeneth his neck.” We are assured by no less a personage than Solomon, that “ a reproof entereth into a wise man more than a hundred stripes into a fool.” But, our author has been reprov'd and refuted again and again for the same fault ! and yet he quotes and misapplies the Scriptures to illustrate his old groundless opinions respecting a division in the Jennerian Society,



A gentleman who has traced the steps of all the anti-vaccinists with far more attention

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of which he knows nothing! I shall, in return for his quotation, extract some hints from the book of Proverbs, which perhaps may not lately have fallen in his way; and I hope they will afford him a useful lesson before he provokes another controversy, on a subject he does not even *endeavour* to understand.

“ He that answereth a matter before he heareth it, it is folly and a shame unto him.

“ The simple believeth every word; but the prudent man looketh well to his going.

“ He that is first in his own cause seemeth right; but his neighbour cometh, and searcheth him.

“ Every prudent man dealeth with knowledge; but a fool layeth open his folly.

“ A fool uttereth all his mind, but a wise man keepeth it in till afterwards.

“ Go not forth hastily to strive, lest thou know not what to do in the end thereof, when thy neighbour hath put thee to shame.

“ He that passeth by, and meddleth with strife not belonging to him, is like one that taketh a dog by the ears.

“ It is an honour for a man to cease from strife; but every fool will be meddling.

“ A fool's lips enter into contention, and his mouth calleth for strokes.

“ Even a fool, when he holdeth his peace, is accounted wise; and he that shutteth his lips is a man of understanding.

“ A fool hath no delight in understanding, but that his heart may discover itself.

and accuracy than myself, says, “ Mr. Birch is an electrician ; and has for a long

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“ The way of a fool is right in his own eyes ; and a fool’s wrath is presently known.

“ Seest thou a man wise in his own conceit ? There is more hope of a fool than of him.

“ When pride cometh, then cometh shame ; and a haughty spirit goeth before a fall.

“ The sluggard is wiser in his own conceit than seven men that can render a reason.

“ Bray a fool in a mortar with a pestle, yet will not his foolishness depart from him.

“ As a dog returneth to his vomit, so a fool returneth to his folly.

“ Answer a fool according to his folly, lest he be wise in his own conceit.

“ A whip for the horse, and a bridle for the ass, and a rod for a fool’s back.

“ It is sport to a fool to do mischief ; but a man of understanding hath wisdom.

“ As a madman who casteth firebrands, arrows, and death ; so is the man that deceiveth his neighbour, and saith, ‘ Am I not in sport ? ’

“ A false witness shall not go unpunished ; and he that speaketh lies shall not escape.”

The same royal and inspired Author gives a few appropriate hints, likewise, in the book of Ecclesiastes ; which I sincerely advise our dreaming anti-vaccinist to peruse with attention : viz.

“ A dream cometh through the multitude of business, and a fool’s voice is known by the multitude of words.

“ time been endeavouring to deter the public  
“ from vaccination, by propagating *false* re-  
“ ports, and giving their faith in this prac-  
“ tice a violent shock. Among all the pro-  
“ ductions of the opponents of vaccination,  
“ that of Mr. Birch appears to me to bear  
“ away the palm, for personal enmity, and  
“ vindictive rancour! Had he ever read  
“ Virgil, he would know that it is dangerous  
“ to trust the voice of Fame; who is a  
“ babbling sort of lady, and full as confident  
“ in her assertions, when propagating *lies*,  
“ as when telling the truth. He would know

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“ As the crackling of thorns under a pot, so is the laughter of fools.

“ Be not overmuch wicked, neither be thou foolish: why shouldst thou die before thy time?

“ The words of wise men are heard in quiet, more than the cry of him that ruleth among fools.

“ Wisdom is better than weapons of war: but one sinner destroyeth much good.

“ There is an evil which I have seen under the sun: Folly is set in great dignity: Yea also, when he that is a fool walketh by the way, his wisdom faileth him; and he saith to every one, that he is a fool.

“ He that diggeth a pit shall fall into it; and the lips of a fool will swallow him up.

“ The beginning of the words of his mouth is foolishness; and the end of his talk is mischievous madness.”

“ that she is fond of terrifying great cities ;  
“ which commonly contain a multitude of  
“ foolish and credulous inhabitants, who are  
“ fond of being led, or rather misled, by a  
“ blind guide.” But Mr. Ring seems not  
to have suspected, that the very reason he as-  
signs why Mr. Birch should act with caution  
in a great metropolis, namely, to prevent its  
foolish and credulous inhabitants from being  
terrified, is the precise motive why some  
people will exert every nerve to alarm them.  
Mr. Ring thinks Mr. Birch “ should know  
that a story loses nothing by telling ;” but  
he forgets, that this very knowledge may  
operate as a strong incentive, on particular  
occasions, to the propagation of a distressing  
falsehood.\* When an alarmist finds truth

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\* Mr. Ring mentions several instances of the puncture of variolous inoculation proving fatal ; and then adds this observation, at p. 43 :—“ One remark made by Mr. Birch is extremely curious. He says, when a person is inoculated for the small-pox, and dies, he dies of the small-pox, and nothing but the small-pox. What would Mr. Birch have him die of ? the plague ? He tells us, that in the inoculation of the small-pox, the appearance of the punctured arm is uniformly the same. He ought, however, to have excepted those cases, in which there is a violent inflammation, a confluent erup-



mingled with error will not effect his purpose, why should he not be expected to try

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tion, an eruption of purples, an extensive ulceration, an abscess, or a mortification.

“ In Mr. Rogers’s pamphlet it is observed, that the Committee of the House of Commons took notice of the contradictory opinions of Messrs. Cline and Birch; and the author of that pamphlet, Mr. Rogers, alias Mr. Birch, thinks it a little remarkable, that as those gentlemen were educated under the same masters, and have practised many years at the same hospital, their opinions are not the same. This, however, is a very silly notion; for if two gentlemen are educated under the same masters, and practise in the same hospital, their knowledge, as well as their opinions, may be very different. One of them may be the greatest surgeon in the kingdom, and the other the greatest blockhead.

“ Mr. Birch contends, that if the adverse cases are not true, a majority, or at least more than one third of them, must be true :

———credat Judæus Apella,

Non ego.

“ Whatever may be the number of them, they must be supported by better authority, before any man, who has a single grain of common sense, will believe them.” (Mr. Ring’s Answer to Mr. Birch, 1806.)

The College of Physicians are very decidedly of opinion “ that vaccination less frequently gives rise to other diseases than the small-pox, either natural or inoculated.” And I am happy to add, that the present Physician of the Small-pox Hospital, who inoculates such vast numbers, admits this fact in the most unequivocal manner :

what can be done with error alone, unsophisticated and unmixed error?

“The fatal effects of cow-pox protection”

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for he says, at page 75 of his “Popular View,” that “Instances of *local* complaints after casual small-pox “are *greatly* more numerous than after the inoculated. “After cow-pox, such complaints are *still more uncommon* than after the inoculated small-pox. I can “truly say, I have met with *none, not even a sore arm, “from vaccination.*” About twenty-two thousand persons have been vaccinated at the Small-pox Hospital; so that the opportunities of Dr. Adams are very great for making comparative observations of this kind.

He says, p. 159, “There is no reason to doubt that “the secondary eruptions marked by Dr. Woodville” (late Physician of the same Hospital) “were variolous.” And I have myself repeatedly seen variolous eruptions, produced by supposed vaccination, from matter which had been supplied from the same quarter! Nay more, I have received the clearest proofs of small-pox having, in various instances, ensued from inoculations by another celebrated physician, who supposed he was communicating the cow-pox! These mistakes, so often made at the commencement of the practice, ought to occasion very large deductions from the alleged *ill* consequences of vaccination; and it may even be questioned whether, at this late period, we ought not to have A GENERAL RE-VACCINATION of all the early inoculated subjects throughout the British dominions, in order to ascertain who have and who have not been secured from catching the small-pox.

are proved by Mr. Birch in so irregular and incoherent a way, that I must be forgiven if I now and then make a short digression from the text of my logical author. He thinks "that the proceedings of the House of Commons, in giving Dr. Jenner a second reward to so large an amount, so much more than his *modest request petitioned for*, is a matter of astonishment." He says you received "more than double the sum petitioned for,"—and I allow this to be true; because you did not then *petition* for any sum, but left this affair to the spontaneous feeling of a grateful Parliament, who knew you had not been very liberally remunerated in the first instance. As Mr. Birch's memory is extremely bad, I will remind him, that this "second reward to so large an amount" was occasioned by the motion of Mr. Edward Morris, Member for Newport in Cornwall, who, impressed by the sense he had of the benefits of vaccination, and a complete stranger both to you and your connexions, voluntarily, and without previously intending to step forward, proposed that the sum of 20,000*l.* should be inserted in Mr. Perceval's resolution, in lieu of 10,000*l.* This amendment was so agreeable to the feel-

ings of the House, that it was carried by a majority of more than four times as great a number as the first vote of the Commons for 10,000*l.* and Mr. Perceval (Chancellor of the Exchequer) himself admitted your “claim on the public to be larger than they had the means of satisfying.” \*

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\* Debates, published by Mr. Murray, pp. 89, 115.

—I cannot resist the pleasure of transcribing a few of the remarks made in the House by Mr. Morris, before he moved for £20,000.—“The great merit of the discovery is, that you may reasonably expect from it the extermination of the disease of small-pox; and the great merit of Dr. Jenner is, that this transcendant discovery is *all* his own. Inoculation by the old method has done a great deal, undoubtedly, towards mitigating the ravages of the small-pox; the deaths occasioned by that disease in the natural way, were about one in six of those who were attacked, and in inoculated small-pox about one in three hundred; but there are other considerations which ought very much to diminish our satisfaction at this statement. We must not conceal from ourselves that this mode of inoculation, from the contagion which it creates, has a tendency to propagate the disease, that in point of fact the number of deaths from small-pox has been increased instead of diminished since the introduction of this practice. The bills of mortality of the metropolis, and the concurrent testimony of the best informed persons on the subject, are quite decisive of this fact. The number of out-patients recently inoculated under the direction of the Small-pox Hospital,



Mr. Birch pretends it was the conclusion of the Session, and that the House was but “thinly attended:” yet he must remember (as he was there) that a vastly larger sum was

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has been alluded to by my honourable friend (Mr. Sturges Bourne). I am quite sure that he did not mean to throw any imputation on any of the persons connected with that charity; but it is impossible for the Committee not to perceive that the practice of inoculation thus carried on, is so far from having any tendency to exterminate the small-pox, that the sources of contagion are more widely spread in consequence of it! Yet, Sir, I do not see how this is to be avoided so long as the ancient method is resorted to. The poor who submit to the operation cannot afford time for seclusion from their occupations, until the power of communicating the infection is extinct; so that the governors of this institution must either withhold its benefits altogether, or be content to administer them, subject to all the dangers of an increased propagation of the disease. In that view of the question, even this charitable establishment may have been a *pest* instead of a benefit to mankind, multiplying the number of victims, and creating the disease where perhaps it would not otherwise have existed. Regulation might somewhat palliate this evil, but it could only palliate: the evil must still exist to a great degree, and in a great number of instances. Here, Sir, is the pre-eminent distinction of Dr. Jenner’s discovery; no measures of precaution are requisite during the whole progress of the disorder. This evil, so calamitous under the old system, cannot exist under his.”

voted at a still later period of the same session, and that there were only eight Members fewer than upon the former occasion of voting you 10,000/. If Mr. Birch should take the trouble of reading the debates which took place in support of the larger sum, he will find that the compliment he pays to “ the candid proposal of an individual Member, whom he designates as *the only Member* who had read the papers, or who comprehended the nature of the business,” does not reflect much credit on the remaining hundred and six voters of that Honourable House ! But this Surgeon cares not whom he calumniates, in supporting his tottering cause ! To compliment *only one* honourable Member, at the expence of all the rest then present, is like the compliment Mr. Birch pays to his own discernment and honesty, at the expence of those who encourage vaccination throughout the world ! . We may answer, as Job did to his revilers, “ No doubt ye are the people, and wisdom shall die with you. But, ye are forgers of lies ; ye are all physicians of no value.”

Our modest and candid author tells us, “ the subjects of Bonaparte are vaccinated at

“ the point of the bayonet :” he says so too, in his “ Cow-pox Chronicle ;” and “ hopes, “ that our Army Medical Board will not “ enforce their orders with the same violence.” The author has a most invincible antipathy against the Army Medical Board : he lately printed a large number of folio papers on the “ Cow-pox,” for distribution among the Irish, in which he ridicules the subject in general, and the Medical Board in particular, with uncommon virulence. I knew nothing of this production till within these few days, when it was given to me by a person who is well acquainted with all Mr. Birch’s movements against vaccination ; but, if I had not been told who was its author, I should have said on reading it, *Ex pede Herculem*. Mr. Birch therein represents a company of “ Irish Chairmen, Watchmen, Foot- “ men, and other Gentlemen,” discussing the merits of vaccination ; upon which, they adopt the following resolution, among others : “ That cowering the army and navy after “ the manner of the English, is the ready “ way to undermine our glorious Constitu- “ tion, and render it liable to the French dis- “ ease ; and as it is not in the articles of war, “ nor enforced by an Act of Parliament, this

“ Society do recommend their friends to resist” (*vi et armis, without doubt*) “ any such unnatural attempt upon them.” Mr. B. preferred the same charges against the Army Board, &c. in his “ Serious Reasons :” so that it almost seems as if he were anxious to excite discontent and mutiny among our loyal defenders ! When I tell you, Sir, that these papers are drawn up in the very style and form suited for illiterate Irishmen, and that great quantities of them are said to have been repeatedly sent to Dublin, you will be ready to suspect, with me, that the tendency of them will not be very pleasant in so turbulent a city. It signifies nothing to answer, “ The cause would not prove adequate to the supposed effect ;” for sometimes, the slightest pretence is sufficient to occasion resistance to military orders, and a rebellious spirit among ignorant people, especially if they be half-disaffected already.

The anonymous pamphleteer goes on to observe, “ that the practice of vaccination in London has considerably decreased, and that of inoculation (for the small-pox) has prevailed, since the House of Commons adjourned.” And again, presently after-



wards he adds, “ that the public prints being  
“ by some means shut against all information  
“ which militates against the *prevailing bias*,  
“ has prevented individuals from communi-  
“ cating those *truths* which otherwise would  
“ have come to light.” I do not see how  
these two notions can be reconciled ; for, if  
the “ prevailing bias” be for the cow-pox,  
how should “ inoculation for the small-pox  
have prevailed ?” But, supposing the me-  
tropolis to be in so deplorable a situation, is it  
any matter of exultation to Mr. Birch that the  
small-pox makes increasing progress ? Does  
he really take delight in contemplating the  
devastations of this pestilence ? I beg his  
pardon ; he considers it a providential relief  
and blessing to a poor man’s family : so that  
he may, under that consolatory idea, lift up  
his head to Heaven, and render the daily  
homage of a grateful soul for its augmenting  
ravages ! I do not pretend to know so much  
of this subject as Mr. Birch ; nor can I tell  
how many victims have been sacrificed du-  
ring the last year, in London, by the efforts of  
only two benevolent inoculators at St. Pancras  
Hospital : but a late author supplies my want  
of evidence by telling me,—“ *It is stated*  
“ *upon good authority, that at this Hospital*

“ more than four thousand OUT-PATIENTS  
 “ have been inoculated with the disease of  
 “ small-pox during the year 1807.”\* Is it  
 not then high time, my dear Sir, for the  
 strong hand of Government to interpose, and  
 rescue so many thousands of human victims,  
 from the merciless jaws of this plague?  
 What! year by year, and in the face of those  
 parliamentary measures which have recently  
 taken place, as the reward of your discovery,  
 are we still doomed to see this infernal mon-  
 ster in our streets, unchained, undisturbed,  
 and even nourished by the foes of mankind?

——Di, talem terris avertite Pestem!

But, Mr. Birch laments that “ the public  
 “ prints are shut against those *truths* which  
 “ would otherwise have come to light!”  
 This reminds me of his “ Serious Reasons,”  
 where he also complained of “ the monopoly  
 “ of the press, employed to circulate the  
 “ assertions of the friends of vaccination, and  
 “ to suppress the arguments of their oppo-  
 “ nents.” His worthy predecessor and bosom  
 friend, Dr. Rowley, uttered the same doleful

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\* Mr. Murray’s Introductory Remarks to the Par-  
 liamentary Debates, &c. p. xii.

cry, that “some of the public prints, and  
“even booksellers, refused publishing or  
“vending his mass of evidence against the  
“cow-pox ;” although men and means have  
nevertheless been always found, to print and  
circulate the “matters of fact” and “self-  
evident truths” which these lovers of hu-  
manity wished to promulgate ! To be sure,  
we have heard now and then of a scrupulous  
bookseller, so inflexibly perverse as not to sell  
such anomalous “masses of evidence,” when  
there appeared to be an over-proportion of  
error mingled with their truths, and when it  
seemed doubtful whether the publisher might  
not seem to be a vender of libels. Perhaps  
the ungenteel refusal of Mr. C\*LL\*w to  
publish “The fatal Effects of Cow-pox Pro-  
tection at Ringwood” was deemed a com-  
plete proof of that bookseller’s prejudice  
against those TRUTHS which Mr. Birch had  
conscientiously determined should “come to  
light”—for the “TOTAL subversion of the  
Report of the College.” The good anti-cow-  
poxer, however, soon discovered a method  
of discharging this point of conscience by the  
help of an old companion, who is celebrated  
for the publication of extraordinary “Novels

and Romances, &c.”\* It was really judicious in Mr. Birch to hit upon a publisher so well known, and in the very line of business too which agrees with the peculiar cast of his “round unvarnish’d Tale.” I say nothing of the newspapers, which had previously aided him in this laudable design of propagating the TRUTH.

“The matter of fact at Ringwood,” Mr. Birch hopes will be the subject of “an amended Report in Warwick Lane,” and may even occupy the attention of Parliament during the present Sessions: for, surely the “House of Commons will not suffer the remuneration given to Dr. Jenner to pass unnoticed.” He says again, “The occurrences which have lately happened at Ringwood, in Hampshire, are really of so alarming a nature, that it would be unpardonable not to bring them before the public; since the mass of mischief within that comparatively small circle, so DECIDEDLY overthrows the Report of the College of Physicians, that perhaps it may

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\* See the List of ninety “Popular Novels and Romances” annexed to Mr. Birch’s publication, by Mr. Hughes of Wigmore Street.



“ he thought worthy the inquiry of Par-  
“ liament: for if it should be found” (as he  
thinks it certainly will) “ that the House of  
“ Commons, deceived by that Report, have  
“ misled, not only this kingdom, but all the  
“ world, it may be an act of justice to contra-  
“ dict that Report, lest we entail upon pos-  
“ terity evils which we may ever have occa-  
“ sion to lament.” When he has described  
the supposed “ FACTS,” Mr. Birch adds,  
“ I shall at present content myself with  
“ these *masses of evidence*. The public mind  
“ is alarmed; the Inquiry must proceed; the  
“ Report of the College is far from satisfac-  
“ tory; the confidence of the public in this  
“ learned body is shaken; their reliance on  
“ the *skill and integrity of the Faculty* is de-  
“ stroyed;\* they have been deceived, expe-  
“ rimented, and miserably disastered. A few  
“ individuals, unconnected, unsupported,  
“ who have *honestly* published their opinions,  
“ and dared to differ from the misguided  
“ Faculty, have been abused and vilified by  
“ the College, in such language as would

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\* Mr. Birch uses the same language at p. 54 of his  
“ Serious Reasons:”—“ Having lost all confidence in  
“ the integrity of the Faculty, and not knowing whom  
“ to trust,” &c. &c. &c.

“ have disgraced even the pamphlets of  
“ Thornton and Ring, and utterly discredits  
“ a body of men who ought to be grave,  
“ learned, and discreet. When a little more  
“ time, and a collection of *facts*, shall show  
“ that the judgment of these few *designing*  
“ and *ignorant* persons was correct, and that  
“ cow-pox is no better a *protection* than it is  
“ a *security*, how will this Corporation of  
“ Investigation make amends to these indi-  
“ viduals for the abuse and ignominy they  
“ have publicly endeavoured to throw upon  
“ their character ?”

While Mr. Birch publishes this pamphlet on “ The fatal Effects of Cow-pox Protection,” he maintains that cow-pox *protection* has no existence ; for, says he, “ Cow-pox is “ no better a protection than it is a security,” and it “ fails in its security after a precise “ period.” Why then does he talk of the “ protection” which induces these supposed “ fatal effects of cow-pox ?” Perhaps he thought a *bull* might not be an improper frontispiece to a treatise against the *cow-pox*. But, if the failures of vaccination really kept pace with his assertions, I still do not see why such a man should find fault : because, ac-

cording to his own principles, the more extensive the fatality is from subsequent small-pox, the greater prospect is there of poor men being relieved from the burthen of supporting their families! He feels, perhaps, for the wealthier portion of the public, who “have been deceived, experimented, and miserably disastered;” and, while he thus sympathizes for others, finds a plausible opportunity at the same time of deploring the losses he himself may sustain, by the general disuse of variolous inoculation.

You know I do not pay much homage to any opinion of the late Dr. Rowley; and yet I give him credit for having well expressed an important and just sentiment, applicable to our time, viz.—“Calumny and detraction  
“have been, and will be exercised against  
“every attempt to improve medicine. The  
“more successful any improvement is, with  
“so much the more fury it is opposed; and  
“it rarely fails to excite, in envious minds,  
“private opposition, at the expence of honour, integrity, and truth.” An observation similar to this was advanced by Dr. Samuel Johnson, in his usual nervous style: “There  
“are some men (says he) of narrow views

“ and grovelling conceptions, who, without  
“ the instigation of personal malice, treat  
“ every new attempt as futile and chimerical;  
“ and look upon every endeavour to depart  
“ from the beaten track, as the rash effort of  
“ a warm imagination, or the glittering  
“ speculation of an exalted mind ; that may  
“ please and dazzle for a time, but can pro-  
“ duce no real or lasting advantage. These  
“ men value themselves upon a perpetual  
“ scepticism, upon inventing arguments  
“ against every new undertaking ; and,  
“ when arguments cannot be found, upon  
“ treating them with contempt and ridicule !  
“ Such have been the most formidable ene-  
“ mies of the greatest benefactors of the  
“ world :” and the cause of their success,  
however undeserved and temporary, is this,  
as Dr. Rowley remarks—that they act under  
the persuasion of “ *the majority of mankind*  
“ *being absolute fools, credulous idiots, and*  
“ *easily seduced.*” Such language sounds very  
harsh, I acknowledge ; but nevertheless con-  
tains a truth which should not, on this ac-  
count, be overlooked by the extravagant ad-  
mirers of that eccentric physician, among  
whom is Mr. John Birch.



There is a strange inconsistency in this Surgeon's opinions. We have seen how he calumniates the House of Commons (excepting one "honest Member," viz. "the only Member who had read the papers, or comprehended the nature of the business") for "profusely squandering on *insignificant* experiments the heavy burthen of the public taxes:" though, in his former publication, he says—"That Dr. Jenner should have been remunerated by the munificence of Parliament, I conceive to be no more than just; on this general principle, that he who neglects his own private interest, in order to promote the *public* benefit, has some claim for *public* compensation." But he nevertheless thinks, "that the high sanction of Parliament and the Royal name ought to be withdrawn;" and "that the Prince's judgment in not suffering his daughter to be vaccinated, is a most fortunate event, as His Royal Highness has by that means escaped the doubts and dangers which so severely afflict many anxious parents." Has not Mr. Birch heard, that the Prince entertains a very high opinion of vaccination? Does he not know, that His Royal Highness publicly declared himself "tho-

“roughly persuaded of its efficacy, and of  
“the incalculable advantages the world in  
“general will reap from the indefatigable and  
“praiseworthy perseverance with which Dr.  
“Jenner has brought it to perfection?”  
What then does this extraordinary Surgeon  
mean, by his artful surmises, respecting the  
“Prince’s judgment?” There may be cases  
in which great Personages think it best to  
waive their own opinion; *e. g.* when they re-  
tain an unworthy “*Surgeon extraordinary.*”

Our author confesses, “that previous to  
“the Report of the College of Physicians  
“and the approbation of that Report by the  
“House of Commons, the inhabitants of  
“Ringwood had but an ill opinion of cow-  
“pox:” but what does this prove, except  
that they were actuated by extreme ignorance  
and prejudice, or (as we found on making  
due enquiry) that they were shockingly de-  
ceived by an illiterate Thresher, who inocu-  
lated for the small-pox at the vilest prices?  
I recollect that Dr. Rowley used to triumph  
in the consideration, “that the poorer people  
“of Brighton drove their children into houses  
“where the natural small-pox was present;  
“and that the poor villagers in HAMPTON

“ SHIRE were inoculated by a Farrier, at five  
“ shillings a head !” The public services of  
such honourable and intelligent practitioners,  
I hope, will not be forgotten nor overlooked  
by the Legislature: for “ it will be impos-  
“ sible to prevent the constant recurrence of  
“ the small-pox, by means of those who are  
“ inoculated ; except it should appear proper  
“ to the Legislature to adopt, in its wisdom,  
“ some measure by which persons who still,  
“ from terror or prejudice, prefer the small-  
“ pox to the vaccine disease, may, in thus  
“ consulting the gratification of their own  
“ feelings, *be prevented from doing mischief*  
“ *to their neighbours.*” (See the College Re-  
port, page 6.)

Ought not the known prejudices of the  
Ringwood people to have taught Mr. Birch,  
that it was very improbable the cow-pox  
would meet with a complete trial there ;  
such a trial as he himself should say, was  
quite fair and sufficient ? I think the greatest  
enemy of vaccination must allow, that cir-  
cumstances so uncommonly disastrous as were  
reported to have occurred “ within that small  
circle,” could not possibly have happened  
without some extraordinary deviation from

the Jennerian practice ; and I cannot conceive therefore, by what rule of logic or perversion of the understanding a gentleman could persuade himself, on hearing those reports, that the facts justified his drawing a conclusion so much at variance with the general experience of medical men ! Nothing impresses my mind more strongly, respecting the hollow and wretched principles here displayed, than the conviction that in any other case whatever (if his interest and character were concerned) Mr. Birch could not possibly bring himself to receive similar important inferences, deduced from such weak and tottering premises. I defy him, indeed, to name one example of the like serious consequences being drawn since the day of his birth, by any man of common sense, from occurrences so ill explained and so imperfectly stated as those were, to which he gave publicity in the *Morning Post* and at *St. Thomas's Hospital* ! If I had never heard of that gentleman's medical education and abilities, the steps he has taken in this affair might have inclined me to suppose him too eccentric to be left at large in a metropolis like London. I say this without the smallest feeling of personal animosity toward him, (for I really have none at all) and merely from



entertaining an opinion, founded on all the circumstances, that there would be greater charity in thinking such a man insane than in believing the contrary.

But if, with this explanation, any person be still disposed to say I am uncharitable and rude, let him recollect the names applied to the “*Banditti*” of vaccinators, by the “chosen band :” *e. g.* “delirious old-women—barbarous—foolish—maniacal—blockheadly—profane—wizardly—furious—fanatical—bedlamitish—enthusiastic—tinkerly—bigotted—ignorant—superstitious—hypocritical—marble-jawed—raving—fantastical—blundering—irrational—murderous—tyrannical—unjust—chimerical—ferocious—railing—fierce—unfeeling—revengeful—malicious—rancorous—desperate—credulous—lying—irascible—beastly—daring—bloody—visionary—obstinate—alchemistic—sectarian—poisonous—knaveish—immoral—despotic—vulgar—cunning—raw—undisciplined—simple—unlettered—faithless—overbearing—interested—abandoned—light-headed—infatuated—visionary—cruel—criminal—inhuman—insolent—cajoling—versatile—presumptuous—scurrilous—

“ ridiculous—proud—impious culprits—and  
 “ supporters of THE VILE FALLACY.”  
 I must be permitted to adorn this catalogue  
 of outlandish and choice epithets, by one  
 extract from the last decorous pamphlet of  
 Dr. Moseley, who boasts that he has “ routed  
 the Banditti” of vaccinarians : “ The Anti-  
 “ Cow-pox standard I erected, it is well  
 “ known, was never joined by more than  
 “ three, or four medical people ; but then  
 “ they were men of *talents, experience, and*  
 “ *fortitude* ; and who well understood the  
 “ small-pox. The good-humour, the *fair,*  
 “ *manly, and liberal* conduct, which they  
 “ brought into the field, and contrasted with  
 “ the rancour, the cunning ignorance, and  
 “ imposing vulgarity of their antagonists,  
 “ have had great effect on the publick ; and  
 “ are *properly valued by men of sense, and*  
 “ *consideration.* Their names will be *re-*  
 “ *vered*, while the record of the *monstrous*  
 “ *delusion*, which they have opposed, shall  
 “ continue to stain the page of medicinal his-  
 “ tory. That so small a phalanx should  
 “ have stopped the inroads of thousands,  
 “ must mortify the *infatuated hordes* we have  
 “ assailed ; who, depending on their nume-  
 “ rical comparison, hoped to extinguish the

“ *light of Truth*, and cover the human intel-  
“ lect with darkness, by the martyrdom of  
“ Reason. On the first insurrection of these  
“ cow-pox *barbarians*, I attacked them, in  
“ their primordial confusion. Changing  
“ their ground, which they always did with-  
“ out method, was of no advantage to them.  
“ I followed them. My example animated  
“ others. With Spartan courage,—and hap-  
“ pily with more than Spartan success,—we  
“ beat them at the defile of Vaccine Ther-  
“ mopylæ; and we have, at length, over-  
“ thrown them, like Athenians, on the  
“ plains of Taurine Marathon. We shall  
“ pursue the fugitives, until they shall cease  
“ to deceive credulous parents, and make ex-  
“ periments on their unfortunate children.  
“ But let not these recollections be ascribed to  
“ vanity. If there be no disgrace in taking  
“ up arms against such enemies, we decline  
“ the ceremony of a triumph over them.  
“ *London, 4th of June, 1807. B. M.*”

Oh rare BEN MOSELEY ! You prudently  
avoid defiling your pages with my name;  
you do not create me “ one of the active Se-  
“ cretaries to the Jennerian Society,” which  
however you most liberally abuse; nor do

you say, "it is with regret the friends of  
" Mr. Rose will see his name associated in  
" such company;" nor do I learn that you  
have danced and sung "*ça ira*," like Mr.  
Birch, at the Ringwood business: therefore,  
I do not meddle with you, Sir, for the pre-  
sent; and I hope no occasion will ever occur  
for me, to employ the keen scalpel on so  
bloated a subject! But, as I am told you  
were amazed and shocked at the manner in  
which I anatomized the late Dr. Rowley,  
and exposed his viscera to public view; take  
heed, Sir, lest my cruel hand should next be  
extended towards "the Author of a Disser-  
" tation on Obi and African Witchcraft."  
When I glanced at what you say about  
"the infant son of Alexander Hume, Esq.  
" No. 43, Gloucester Place, Portman Square,"  
and "Dr. Rowley's cow-poxed ox-faced boy,"  
in your "Oliver for a Rowland," (I could  
never wade through *all* that mire,) it pleased  
me to find you thought lightly of Surgeons,  
and did not condescend to notice me among  
"the infatuated hordes you have assailed."\*

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\* Dr. Moseley thinks "the decorum of the profes-  
" sion degraded" by some ignorant persons having  
"taken up the thorny novelty" of vaccination. By his ac-  
count, the practice of variolous inoculation ought like-



I see indeed, that you judge ONE SURGEON not unworthy to be your colleague; but when I shall have more completely dissected him, we may happen to discover in this Hero fewer brains and a more corrupt heart than you imagined. If Mr. Birch has hitherto been “in reputation for wisdom and honour,” among “the chosen band;” remember, Sir, that in such men of repute “a little folly “sendeth forth a stinking savour,” as Solomon observes.

I now return to Mr. Birch’s anonymous pamphlet, wherein he tells his renders, “It is “quite unnecessary to examine the evidence “which was produced to the Committee of “the House of Commons; although it was

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wise to have been confined to men of science; and not committed to Barbers, Farriers, Threshers, Cobblers, old Nurses, &c. &c. “For, whatever professional men in “general may think, the art of inoculation is now known “but to very few; and never was known to one in a “thousand who practised it.” Here, I almost agree with him; but not when he adds, “the arm never requires Surgery,” and that “it is far otherwise with “the cow-pox: there (says Dr. M.) the arm *frequently* “*mortifies*; and the utmost skill in surgery has *often* “*failed*. No cow-poxer *can* understand small-pox “inoculation.” (“An Oliver for a Rowland,” 1807.)

“ dignified by Princes, and Peers, and supported by Physicians and Clergymen.” Mr. Birch asks the following question in his “ Cow-pox Chronicle,” which shews why he thinks it “ unnecessary :”—“ Is not the “ respectable mass of evidence from Princes, “ Peers, Parsons, and Physicians, which first “ recommended cow-pox to the notice of “ Parliament, *totally subverted and set aside,* “ by the diseases, failures, and deaths, which “ have indisputably occurred in the practice “ of the last five years ?” I answer, NO ; not “ totally subverted ;” nor perhaps more “ decidedly overthrown” than the “ Report “ of the College” is now, “ by the occurrences at Ringwood.” I should deem it quite as honourable to have been numbered with the “ Princes, Peers, Physicians, and “ Clergymen,” as with Mr. Birch, Dr. Rowley, and Dr. Moseley ; though it is possible, as the latter Physician hints, that the evidence of the greater number might outweigh the lesser only “ *in bulk, not in value.*” \* The

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\* Dr. Moseley, who is so good a judge and so perfectly impartial, declares “ that not one medical man of “ real learning, Dr. PEARSON excepted, has espoused “ vaccination ; and that HE begins to wish for a di-

precipitancy with which Mr. Birch has published this "Narrative," and the trouble he nevertheless took to copy Mr. Westcott's and Mr. Macilwain's account of their ill success in endeavouring to introduce vaccination at Ringwood, will sufficiently shew his anxiety to anticipate the Report which he knew was preparing by the Royal Jennerian Society. Might not the extreme hurry and trepidation Mr. Birch was in, to "deliver "this round unvarnished tale," be pleaded as some excuse for his omitting to employ the authentic documents he possessed of a contravening nature?

Mr. Birch gives a list of the "persons who "submitted to vaccination at Ringwood, "under an assurance that they should be thus "secured from the small-pox," which, he says, was "epidemical in November 1807." The small-pox did not spring out of the earth like a mushroom in one night; nor did it descend from the clouds in an unpropitious day, as Mr. Birch may fancy: but it was

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"vorce." How could Dr. Moseley think a modest and unassuming physician (like Dr. George Pearson) would relish this invidious anti-vaccine compliment?

introduced by a child on the 11th of September, and again near the beginning of October by a traveller, from whom three were inoculated, and several others caught "this pestilential disease;" when, in order to deprive all "the poor families" of what "is considered a merciful provision" and an unspeakable blessing, some few of the richer inhabitants were so unfeeling as to exert their best efforts towards preventing the extension of so great a benefit; or, in other words, they encouraged the people to be immediately vaccinated. But, unhappily, the evil spirit, who "is a murderer from the beginning," had already got among them; a very small proportion out of two thousand unprotected persons would submit to vaccination: the rest chose for themselves a more ancient method of preventing the fatal effects of the small-pox. One gentleman had been labouring for seven years to promote vaccination in Ringwood; but prejudice and ignorance prevailed so far, as to limit his exertions to a very narrow circle indeed. You will find an important and sensible letter from this practitioner, subjoined to the Report of the Jennerian Society, which explains the difficulties he has had to contend against. Most of the inhabitants of that



town and the neighbouring villages, who preferred the small-pox inoculation, incautiously exposed their persons, so as to spread the variolous contagion rapidly among those who intended to be vaccinated. It was that circumstance alone, my dear Sir, which occasioned the majority of alleged failures and subsequent deaths, in the persons who (too late) submitted to the new inoculation. Rival practitioners, ignorant *paupers*, we were told, made a tender of their services to inoculate the poor for the small-pox; and to prevent these dishonourable and uneducated competitors from gaining their point, Messrs. Westcott and Macilwain were constrained to accept the terms proposed to the parish officers, by such very inadequate pretenders!

However medical men may be always disposed to do their best, it will seldom be in their power to hinder the interference of illiterate desperadoes on similar occasions, among those who are either too penurious to satisfy the reasonable demands of a skilful surgeon, or too supercilious to class themselves with individuals on a parochial list. Hence, then, appears the indispensable necessity of some legislative means, to regulate the

conduct of all small-pox subjects, and to restrain unqualified paupers, &c. &c. from killing their neighbours, under the pretence of doing them good! Seventy persons were variolated at Ringwood, on the 16th of October 1807; and for a while they were inclosed by an *open* railing, fixed across the road, near the lot of houses which they inhabited: notwithstanding this precaution the people of the town had free access to them! While that imprudent intercourse continued, you may imagine to what extent the contagion of small-pox would soon spread; and when the convalescent prisoners were liberated, you need not be told how unavailing their former confinement would prove, as to any real benefit accruing to the numerous unprotected villagers.

I next shall offer a few remarks on Mr. Birch's list of vaccinated people at Ringwood. He gives the names of eighteen persons who, he says, "all died of the small-pox after being vaccinated;" also two, who "died of the vaccine inoculation," or, as he elsewhere writes, "of the vaccine ulcer:" likewise thirty-three, who "all took small-pox, but happily recovered;" and lastly,

nine more, “ vaccinated upwards of three  
“ years ago, but all had the small-pox at the  
“ same time with the others.” From that  
list he draws a sweeping conclusion : “ Thus  
“ the Report of the College of Physicians is  
“ TOTALLY SUBVERTED in this narrow  
“ circle of Ringwood ; for, at first, the cow-  
“ pox, in its preparation for protection, de-  
“ stroyed two out of sixty-two ; failed of  
“ any security in the whole of that number ;  
“ protected nine for three years ; and suffered  
“ eighteen to die of the natural small-pox,  
“ instead of rendering them safe, by the mi-  
“ tigation of its usual symptoms.”

O ye “ Princes, Peers, Physicians, and  
“ Clergymen ;” ye noble and ignoble friends  
of vaccination ; do you not see that this Jen-  
nerian project is altogether a “ VILE FAL-  
“ LACY ?” Is not the Report of the Royal  
College “ TOTALLY SUBVERTED ?” Does  
it not appear as obvious as the noon-day sun,  
that Mr. Birch of Spring Gardens, an extra-  
ordinary Surgeon to the Prince of Wales,  
&c. is much wiser and more profound in his  
researches than the whole College ? Now,  
I ask you all, what shall be done unto this  
marvellous descendant of Adam ? How shall

he be rewarded? What can be a competent remuneration for his having thus voluntarily opened the eyes of you all? My advice is, that he shall be honoured as Ahasuerus honoured his benefactor Mordecai: “let the  
“royal apparel be brought which the King  
“useth to wear, and the horse that the King  
“rideth upon, and the crown-royal which is  
“set upon his head; and let this apparel and  
“horse be delivered to the hand of one of the  
“King’s most noble Princes, that they may  
“array the man withal whom the King delighteth to honour, and bring him on  
“horseback through the streets of the city,  
“and proclaim before him—*Thus shall it be*  
“*done to the man whom the King delighteth to*  
“*honour.*”—But, I advise further, that the enemies of our King and his liege subjects, who have deceived the people, shall be all  
“hanged upon a gallows fifty cubits high,” until “the King’s wrath shall be pacified,” and due vengeance be executed upon those wicked “*cow-pox ruffians*” who have acted so treacherously.

Aye, Mr. Birch; but, suppose you are mistaken, or rather, have suppressed the facts and published a nonentity! what then should



be done to you? Suppose you have shut your eyes against the dazzling light of day, and opened them to receive the glimmering rays of midnight! what then? Suppose you have closed your ears against the truth, repeatedly offered, and inclined them to the whispers of ignorance or malevolence! what must be done to you for that? Suppose you have refused to hearken, when facts were proposed for your attention, and listened attentively, when idle rumours fell in your way! how should you be treated for this? Suppose, in short, that you have published what you knew to be false, or at least had not a shadow of reason to conclude was true! how should you then be rewarded for your gross misconduct?

It really pains me, dear Sir, to be under the necessity of probing this foul wound to the very bottom. You will hardly conceive how unpleasant it is to say half what I feel, respecting the atrocity of such obvious deceit and ignorance! I have now lying before me letters from Ringwood, which call into question the reality of the existence of many persons whose names appear on Mr. Birch's list! Some of them are said to have never

been known in the neighbourhood of Ringwood!—It is certainly possible that a man who so loves “burgundy and claret” as our anonymous author, might copy the list in an unfavourable moment, and might not even observe his errors when the printer returned his proof sheets: but, I cannot suppose the case to be worse than this; I do not suspect he invented the names, or purposely altered them; and am therefore willing to make every allowance for blunders in writing, or reading, or printing. Let us then admit that he is right, as to the numbers of those who were said to be wounded and slain after the process of vaccination; we must nevertheless, you know, enquire if the people who died or had the small-pox *really were vaccinated?* I remember that Dr. Rowley, whose writings Mr. Birch greatly admires, would never admit this enquiry to be of any importance: but you and I are not so simple as to call those persons vaccinated, who were only willing to be vaccinated, or perhaps submitted to the mere operation. I recollect the saying of Dr. Rowley; that the “How, when, what, where, whether the cow-pox took and was regular or not, were evasive and irrelative” questions; which might

“confound fools” indeed, but need no answers. He has possibly instilled the same doctrine into his pupil Mr. Birch; so that he too never enquires respecting the actual fact of vaccination taking place, where the small-pox is reported to have succeeded an attempt to vaccinate. Does he not know that a mere endeavour to inoculate for the small-pox, may fail of communicating the disease? and that an ineffectual inoculation for the cow-pox affords no ground for pretending the patient is secure against the variolous contagion? Does Mr. Birch only ask, as Dr. Rowley did, “Have the parties been inoculated for the cow-pox; and have they afterwards had the small-pox?” If here end his enquiries, it is no wonder that “every post brings him accounts of failures in vaccination,” and that he is the dupe of every ignoramus or impostor in the kingdom! If, instead of believing without investigation, he had acted according to the dictates of conscience and reason in the Ringwood cases, how different would the result have appeared! Nay, if he had stopped short, after the first or second wrong step he took in this business, and had honestly confessed his errors, (for, like Hippocrates, “he takes a pride in ac-

knowledging his mistake"), we might have forgiven his rashness and commended his integrity ! But, as the matter has taken another turn, he must now reap the fruit of his own perverseness ; and I hope the urgency of the occasion will justify me, Sir, in thus fairly (though very reluctantly) undeceiving the public, which has been so shamefully abused.

Immediately after his list of failures and deaths at Ringwood, our author shrewdly asks, whether " that highly ornamental comparative view of cow-pox and small-pox, intended to make such an impression on our colonies, and which may perhaps be still lying on the table of the House of Commons, will bear any comparison with the *matter of fact at Ringwood* and other places ?" I answer NO, it will not " bear any comparison : " for, if I understand what that statement is (I believe it to be Mr. Addington's), only one in six is said to have died of the natural small-pox, and one in three hundred of the inoculated ; whereas, I find that the " *matter of fact at Ringwood* " proves this statement to be far, very far, from universally true. I find, Sir, that " the matter of fact " was this ; nearly *half* of those died



who had the small-pox naturally, and more than an *eighth* part died of the inoculated patients ! For this time, then, I accord with Mr. Birch ; in considering that Mr. Addington's "highly ornamental comparative view" is incorrect, and bears no "comparison with "the matter of fact at Ringwood."\*

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\* In Mr. Birch's "Serious Reasons," that comparative view, &c. is said to be "ornamented with tablets "like a schoolboy's writing piece, representing to the "gaping multitude a frightful picture of inoculation, "with the supposed misery attendant on it ; and exhibiting representations equally false and exaggerated, "of the blessings of vaccination." It has never fallen to my lot to see such vulgar editions of that "placard ;" and perhaps some of the embellishments alluded to are at least highly coloured, if not wholly invented, by the ingenious picture-maker in Spring Gardens. He "viewed with indignant scorn that ungenerous artifice"—and yet he can deliberately practise artifices as ungenerous, as frightful, and as exaggerated as the original itself, so improperly exhibited "to the gaping multitude." The luminous exhibition of *facts* occurring at Ringwood, I think, must be fully equal to any other "picture" ever presented to the public eye. In copying the above extract, I observe, on the opposite page of Mr. Birch's "Serious Reasons," that this patient and submissive investigator of truth thinks his grounds of dissent quite satisfactory : "Finding I stood nearly "single, and that the tide of opinion set strong against "me, I patiently submitted to have my *judgment* called

He adds a piece of information that I was not before acquainted with, though I reckon myself one of the earliest subscribers to the Jennerian Society, which published Mr. Ad-dington's "Comparative View, &c." viz. that "this placard was industriously circu-  
lated, and placed in many public-houses." But let me ask Mr. Birch, if it ever was seen in the public streets, on the walls of the me-tropolis? if it "most earnestly entreated the  
heads of families to peruse" an artful and direct falsehood? if it contained only the mischievous effusions of blind folly and de-speration? The author himself, as appears by his conduct, has no objection to hand-bills, placards, and comparative statements; provided they are managed "*fairly and ho-  
nestly.*"—Stop, my dear Sir; we must not pry too far into the mysteries and arcana of his secret contrivances, to propagate "the  
truth:" you see, that he does not at all mean to rebuke those who act openly and in-genuously; but only the deep villains who are ashamed to explain their own conduct,

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"in question" (and his integrity too) "for a season,  
resolving to wait a proper period to explain my REA-  
sons of dissent."

and who leave the world to detect their false statements when all the intended mischief is done !

You have observed, how dexterously this unblamable gentleman can infuse new sentiments into the Report of the College of Physicians, and how faithfully he can interpret their plain words. I now come to a part of the pamphlet, in which our immaculate author comments upon the advertisement inserted by some of the leading persons at Ringwood in the Winchester and Salisbury newspapers, &c. &c. “ Whenever failures have happened, (says he,) some kind of excuse has been necessarily resorted to, in order to account for them.” Is it not very desirable that some proper “ excuse” should always be found, on such occasions ? but Mr. Birch, unfortunately, has none to resort to in palliation of his slight mistakes and foibles !

“ The public have been long accustomed to miserable subterfuges on such occasions, or they must feel very indignant at the old story revived in the following terms of assurance and ignorance.” He then copies the advertisement, which, I suspect, was sent

to him in Mr. Westcott's letter; but he might afterwards have read it in the London papers. On the sixteenth of January an inhabitant of Ringwood wrote to Dr. Knowles, that he had seen the said advertisement in the Winchester paper: he was not one of those gentlemen, who concurred in its formation, nor did he like the wording of it; but he nevertheless declared, that "*he remains a decided friend to the cow-pock.*" Aye, methinks our honest commentator will answer; "but, if he had lost a dear child by the failure of vaccination, how then?" Sir, he did so: one of his own children died of what was reported to be a failure; and, on making due enquiry, this intelligent father (like many others) felt satisfied that the cow-pock was fully entitled to "the firm confidence of the public," as the advertisement states. What now, Sir, will our vain babler say? Was it "assurance and ignorance" which dictated that advertisement? No; it was dictated by truth, by justice, by temperance, by humanity—virtues not easily found in an obstinate anti-vaccinist!

Mr. Birch next informs the world, that "*this most careful and minute investigation was*



“ conducted at the Town-hall at Ringwood ;  
“ and it consisted of an examination of *one*  
“ *of the families* who had had the small-pox,  
“ after being promised security by vacci-  
“ nation. The advertisement states, that,  
“ besides Dr. Fowler, of Salisbury, there  
“ were present some of the most respectable  
“ gentlemen of the town and neighbourhood,  
“ (among whom, we understand, was the  
“ Right Hon. George Rose,) and a deputa-  
“ tion of three Members of the Royal Jen-  
“ nerian Society ; which deputation consisted  
“ of three persons, to whom the Rev. Row-  
“ land Hill and Dr. Walker would particu-  
“ larly object—namely, Dr. Knowles, Vac-  
“ cinator to the Jennerian Society, and suc-  
“ cessor of *the late* Dr. Walker ; Mr. Blair,  
“ and Mr. Ring, active Secretaries to the  
“ same Society. It is with regret that the  
“ friends of Mr. Rose will see his name  
“ associated with such company.” These  
insulting falsehoods and calumniating insinu-  
ations are only equalled by his arrogance in  
adding—“ The result of the inquiry was,  
“ that the small-pox had occurred in nu-  
“ merous instances to persons who had been  
“ previously vaccinated ;” which, says he,  
“ must restore and confirm the confidence of

“ the public in a practice affording such  
“ complete protection.” If the highly honourable characters of Mr. ROSE and Dr. FOWLER be not sufficient to stamp authority and worth on our proceedings at the Town-hall of Ringwood, on the first day of our investigation; let prejudice and malignity be credited in affirming, it only “ consisted of  
“ an examination of *one* of the families who  
“ had had the small-pox after being promised security by vaccination;” and let criminal blindness be believed, in declaring  
“ the result of the inquiry was, that the small-pox had occurred in numerous instances to  
“ persons who *had been* previously vaccinated.”

Happily, our investigation was public, and the manner in which it was conducted is well known to hundreds of eye-witnesses! The unanimous vote of thanks we ultimately received, came unasked, unexpected, and I hope was the expression of a grateful feeling in the inhabitants. If the leading gentlemen in that neighbourhood had thought we only wished “ to delude the uninformed and the  
“ ignorant” instead of acting like benevolent counsellors or friends, I do not imagine any

of them would have honoured us with their company during the close of the last day of our enquiries. The Deputation must acknowledge, with pleasure and thankfulness, the attentions they experienced from the first characters in Ringwood and its vicinity; who all saw that we solicited objections, courted difficulties, invited parochial officers and suffering relatives to bring forward their cases or doubts for examination, and cheerfully visited the habitations of some who were unable to attend our public meetings.

What can be meant by that dark and unintelligible hint of Mr. Birch, that “the Rev. Rowland Hill and Dr. Walker would particularly object to the three persons” sent as a “Deputation from the Royal Jennerian Society?” I was not present at the Board of Directors, when the Deputation was appointed; but I have since been told, that “the Rev. Rowland Hill” actually proposed “Mr. Ring,” and that Mr. Rose requested Dr. Knowles’s attendance! Dr. Walker is not now Inoculator to the Society; and I can see no reason (if he were) why *he* should have objected to Dr. Knowles, who is his very meritorious “Successor” in that im-

portant office. But, why should the author tell the palpable untruth, that “ Mr. Blair “ and Mr. Ring are active *Secretaries* to the “ same Society ?”—and then invidiously add, “ It is with regret that the friends of Mr. “ Rose will see his name associated in such “ company ?” I presume, by his different quotations from several Reports of the Jennerian Society; that the discerning author must often have seen the official signature of Mr. CHARLES MURRAY, as the Secretary; and yet he pretends to displace that respectable gentleman from his office, by *two* other “ active Secretaries:”—nay, I find even a third “ active Secretary” alluded to, probably Dr. Adams is meant, in his “ Cow-pox “ Chronicle,” that repository of genius and wisdom ! An Establishment patronized by so many Royal and Noble Personages (more, I believe, than any Institution in the kingdom) certainly can be no discredit to the greatest Surgeons in London, and therefore not to those who make no pretensions to greatness; but, as I sincerely love truth, it was deemed requisite to expose that fallacious and unaccountable statement.

The mean and unhandsome insinuation re-



specting Mr. ROSE shall be briefly noticed in Mr. Birch's own words, on a former occasion: "Bitterness of invective and *unband-*  
" *some sneers*, says he, as they offer no argu-  
" gument merit no reply." I feel consoled, my dear Sir, to perceive that Mr. ROSE's condescending politeness and affability since our late investigation, evinces how little HE  
" regretted" to find himself " in such company." Let us next pass on to the candid suggestion of our pamphleteer, concerning the anticipated *Report* of the Jennerian Society.

He says, a " Report is in preparation by  
" the Jennerian Society, to delude the unin-  
" formed and inconsiderate, and to prolong  
" the miserable existence of a neglected and  
" divided establishment;" to illustrate which remark, he quotes our Saviour's words,  
" An house divided against itself cannot  
" stand."—If I remember right, not only Mr. Birch, but Mr. Lipscombe and Dr. Moseley, have roundly and positively asserted that Dr. Thornton was *employed* by the Committee of the Jennerian Society to defend vaccination! I take the present opportunity of setting that matter right: Dr. Thornton (by private and improper means) had once an

unexpected offer of examining some of the papers of this Society ; but he never was employed by it, either directly or indirectly, and never belonged to it, even as a subscriber ! The Society, I trust, has not been in such deplorable straits as to look beyond itself for a full vindication of its own proceedings ; and I confidently believe, it can at all times produce fifty members well able to refute whatever Mr. Birch or his sagacious colleagues may please to publish against vaccination. The honest author of *Serious Reasons* *some years ago* told the public, that “ the Societies quarrelled and parted,” meaning the Vaccine-pock Institution (at the west-end of the town) and the Jennerian Society in Salisbury Square. Now it so happens, that they never were united ; and you know they are composed of such discordant materials, that they are not very likely to unite : so that I should be glad to learn where they “ quarrelled ” and when they “ parted ? ” Mr. Ring has, over and over again, refuted this false assertion and calumny of the author ; who, I fear, does not repeat his insinuation with a consciousness of probity, but thus often returns to the charge, regardless of all moral and professional consequences.

He says truly, that Dr. Knowles is “Vaccinator to the Society, and successor to Dr. Walker:” I wish the public understood this fact as well as Mr. Birch; for, some how or other, methods are devised to keep up the egregious deception of the late Inoculator being still under the patronage of the Jennerian Society! There is abundant reason to suspect that many very excellent and benevolent persons, both medical and unprofessional, have been duped by the artful contrivances of a few disappointed and revengeful individuals, to countenance proceedings too disgraceful to be endured; proceedings, as you know, conceived in malignity, and accomplished by the grossest impositions! Our only comfort is, that some remote benefit may eventually arise, from transactions so little intended for the public good, and so obviously occasioned by a spirit of opposition to YOU. While I write this, however, news comes that *you* are taking decided steps, for undeceiving those who at present lend their respectable names to such men and measures.\*

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\* The annexed copy of a *late* advertisement by the Society will speak for itself:

“ The logic of the cow-pox deputation,” we are told by Mr. Birch, “ seems to be, “ that where the small-pox occurs, vaccination must have been imperfect: *per contra*, the College say, when vaccination “ is perfect, that it is no absolute security.” The College does what it ought, in admitting the *possible* failure of vaccination ; and

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“ Oct. 1, 1807. The Directors of the Royal Jennerian Society, having received positive information, that the late Resident Inoculator and Medical Secretary, Dr. J. Walker, has long been attempting, not only by various insidious representations, and even by force, to obstruct patients going to the Central House of the Society for Inoculation, but also by the use of the Registers of the Society, formerly intrusted to his care as one of its officers, and which he has pertinaciously refused to give up, to deprive the Society of the co-operation of its friends and correspondents throughout the country ; do hereby give notice, in answer to the inquiries which they have received, that the Society has no connection whatever with the said Dr. John Walker ; and that Dr. Knowles is the Resident Inoculator of the Society, at their house, No. 14, Salisbury Square, Fleet Street ; to whom they beg that all communications may be addressed, post-paid.”

I am in no way affected by the prosperity or downfall of Dr. Walker's “ *London Vaccine Institution* ;” but as a friend to the Jennerian PRACTICE, which he so little regards, I felt it an imperious duty to notice this subject.



Mr. Birch does what he ought not, in pretending that failures are *frequent* ! The College tells the whole truth, and nothing but the truth ; while Mr. Birch scruples not to do almost the contrary ! The College draws honest conclusions, from the evidence it has received ; Mr. Birch misrepresents those conclusions, and puts clauses into the Report of the College which are not there ! The College says, “ Amongst several hundred thousand cases, the number of alleged failures “ has been surprisingly small ; so much so, “ as to form *certainly* no reasonable objection to the general adoption of vaccination : “ for, it appears that there are *not nearly so* “ many failures, in a given number of vaccinated persons, as there are *deaths* in an “ equal number of persons inoculated for the “ small-pox.” Therefore, the College very reasonably infers, in direct opposition to the unfair and perverse “ logic ” of anti-vaccinists, “ that the security derived from vaccination, if not *absolutely* perfect, is as nearly “ so as can perhaps be expected from any “ human discovery.”

With respect to “ the logic of the Cow-pox Deputation,” as I was one of their

number, it becomes me to speak with modesty: but, I fear not to affirm, Sir, in the face of the world, that we acted with unimpeachable integrity, with caution, with perseverance, with a conscientious endeavour to elicit the truth; and that our "logic" is as just, and as strictly conformable to facts, as we could make it. If our Report be in any point actually erroneous, the fault is imputable to our weakness of intellect or defective evidence, rather than to our will. The writer who dares publicly to charge us, or the Jennerian Society, with an intention "to delude the uninformed and inconsiderate," may next profess to have discovered that we are a gang of bloody-minded assassins; and then put "the friends of Mr. Rose" on their guard, against our diabolical machinations or dangerous "company."\*

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\* In the list of opprobrious names (see p. 144) which have been given to the "flattering, deceitful, and infatuated Hordes" of cow-pox "*Culprits*" will be found some I never heard from the lips of a gentleman, and which perhaps are only to be met with among the people of Billingsgate or St. Giles's; but one of the latest pamphlets which has appeared in the MOSELEYAN style, I think is quite unparalleled for the impurity and virulence of the author's diction. He not only calls his opponent "a vulgar cow-pox Ruffian," but compares

Mr. Birch gives a list of "eighteen names  
" of patients who," he says, "had the small-

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the Medical and Physical Journal to the Woolwich  
"HULKS" filled with convicted "*Ruffians*" of different  
denominations! For example,

"So ROWLAND, since the fourth edition of my  
"OLIVER, you have sunk down among the swine-pox  
"herd, in Dr. Bradley's yellow pig-stye. I prophesied  
"that would be the end of you: *de grege Porcus!* ROW-  
"LAND, remain there. It is the proper *hulk* for *cul-*  
"*pits* like you. There—out of the ranks of civil so-  
"ciety, you may wallow, and grunt, and play the swine  
"with the BRUTE CREATION. Dr. PEARSON and Dr.  
"JENNER are cow-pox masters. These are the two  
"original cow-pox philosophers; and, like philosophers  
"of old, they know a great deal—for, they know that  
"they know nothing. ROWLAND, I wish you knew as  
"much. Thus, after a period of eight years' experi-  
"ence of vaccination, OUR College of Physicians may  
"well be employed in ascertaining *the causes which have*  
"*hitherto retarded its general adoption.*"

I congratulate the Royal College on having so worthy  
a member, and Dr. George Pearson on having so meri-  
torious a friend! He distinguishes this gentleman as  
the only "man of honour and real learning" in the  
"vaccine tribe"—all the rest being nearly on a level  
with the "BRUTE CREATION." He "breathes out  
"threatenings and slaughter" against his opponents, in  
the most unclassical and barbarous terms; but never-  
theless wishes to be esteemed a polite and accomplished  
scholar, who has been long accustomed to range fami-  
liarly over the purest classic ground! This very man re-

“pox after being vaccinated by a practitioner, who delivered in his account (to the College of Surgeons) of five thousand vaccinated, and only five failures.”\* I con-

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proaches a Rev. Author with using “the most vile, abusive, coarse, vulgar, and arrogant language;” and even says, “All the fraternity that have hitherto appeared in print, are equally ignorant of the common rules of grammar.” He accuses the same Rev. Gentleman of telling “*a quick lie*,” for having expressed “little or no doubt that half Dr. Rowley’s cases are false and grossly misrepresented:” yet does this *mild and modest* writer himself expect to be believed, when he tells us of one of the Clergyman’s vaccinated children “*whose face began to resemble that of an ox*,” and another “*with patches of cow’s hair*.”

\* A suggestion in Mr. Birch’s “*Serious Reasons*” may, occasionally, be pretty near the real truth; viz. “that those cases of failure which are instanced among the poor are not to be credited, the poor not having the means of contradicting what may be asserted of them.” It is very certain that, in various instances, most egregious misrepresentations have been published about failures among the poor; partly, perhaps, from unintentional mistakes (as we found remarkably the case at Ringwood), and partly from wilful misconduct in those who through negligence or selfish principles have propagated false accounts. Of the latter sort, Dr. Rowley’s collection “of 504 failures” contained some notable examples; and I do not suppose the other collections of different anti-vaccinists are perfectly immaculate!



jecture what is the name of this practitioner, and doubt not that he is both able and willing to vindicate his own cause. Probably it will at length appear, that Mr. Birch's representations are full as correct and faithful on this subject, as on any other. I shall, however, leave the Surgeon to whom he alludes, to make his own defence; as I really am not in possession of the necessary evidence, to ascertain the facts or determine the merits of the question at issue. Mr. Birch is very angry with the College of Physicians, for having given "absolute credit to the statements of this man, while they thoroughly investigated the cases delivered to them from Dr. Moseley." Does such an intimation impress your mind favourably or unfavourably as to Dr. Moseley's credit with the College? Does it tend to depreciate or exalt the credibility of the Surgeon, whom Mr. Birch endeavours to vilify? If the College thought so well of the Surgeon and so ill of the Physician, what inference do you draw from that circumstance? Surely the reputed veracity of one stands very high, and of the other very low indeed! I here speak of those two practitioners, no farther than as to

the estimation in which they are held by the Royal College of Physicians, Mr. Birch himself being judge.

Our inquisitive author next says something, but I cannot understand his meaning, about “the mass of mischief which occurred “at Brighton during last summer.” Does he allude, do you think, to the sort of mischief which Dr. Rowley described, viz. driving the frightened people into houses where the small-pox raged, in order to administer this great blessing to poor men’s families? Mr. Birch tells his readers, “these occurrences have been slightly passed over; unless they are treasured up in Warwick Lane, to be commented upon with the “Ringwood Register, in an amended Report, the ensuing Sessions of Parliament.” So then, he conceits that the “facts” at Ringwood and the “mischief” at Brighton will give a new turn to the sentiments of the College, and of the British Parliament! Yes, forsooth, if HE were the sole arbiter, and might decide according to his own dreams or “hearsay” stories, instead of going to the fountain-head for evidence. Truth lies at the bottom of a well, and Mr. Birch is unwilling

to dive very deep in search of it ! No, no ; he only dips into the surface, but expects nevertheless to find what lies at the bottom. I am told he is brooding over some other disastrous antivaccine intelligence, arrived from the Isle of Wight, and from Kent, Surry, &c.\*

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\* I can explain the late occurrence in Surry, which has thrown a very large parish into confusion, and so terrified the inhabitants as to leave the church of W——m in nearly a deserted state ; and the Sunday school, consisting of eighty children, has been suddenly reduced to about twelve or fourteen ! The resident Apothecary at W——m had private reasons for wishing success to the small-pox, rather than permit the *cheap* defence of vaccination to be encouraged. He therefore declaimed violently against the cow-pox, and threatened to affix a warning upon the church doors ; at the same time he pretended to recite several instances in his neighbourhood of the small-pox happening after vaccination, performed some years before, one of them so long as seven years. A Fellow of the London College of Physicians (who related the facts to me) expostulated with this Apothecary, examined the cases of pretended small-pox, and found that not one of them had the disease ; but that only a very slight *local* appearance had been produced on the arm of several people by variolous inoculation, unaccompanied by general fever, and without any proof of the objections being well founded.

Nothing, however, could pacify the ignorant Apothecary : he still propagated the same false rumours ; and would not take the trouble to read a treatise on the



Perhaps he will not be long before he casts these cases into the teeth of the College and the united Parliament, "to be commented upon with the Ringwood Register, in an amended Report." He says, "*every day*" is presenting accounts of failure of the

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disease, which might have taught him that the same *local* effect will arise on the inoculated arms of persons who have before had the small-pox, or upon the skin of nurses sleeping with variolous infants. The Apothecary nevertheless persisted in saying those people had the regular and complete small-pox after vaccination, and that he was justified in using his utmost endeavours to spread the variolous contagion! The Physician, finding a great many persons exceedingly alarmed by these insidious representations, and reluctant to be even gratuitously vaccinated, pledged his word that the story of the Apothecary was totally false; and then himself vaccinated, with the completest success, about one hundred and fifty, from matter which I procured at the house of the Jennerian Society. So careless and inattentive were the vaccinated subjects, that many of them thought (as the people did at Ringwood) that the mere puncture with a lancet was enough to secure them; and so regardless were other inhabitants of all consequences, that numbers of them went about to inoculate their relations at a distance, by pricking them with a needle dipped in small-pox virus. To this day (Feb. 29th) the obstinate Apothecary is grossly ignorant of both disorders; and perseveres, not only in his erroneous notions, but in spreading the variolous pestilence wherever he has opportunity!



“ Jennerian project ;” and he told the same hyperbolical “ tale” when he published his “ Letter to Mr. Rogers.” If this were true, it is surprising how cautious he must have been, not to have printed many more fables than he has, during the years in which adverse facts have been accumulating. Dr. Rowley was not near so delicate and sceptical ; for he published five hundred and four failures !

Mr. Birch’s “ Letter to Mr. Rogers” is dated July 6th, 1805. The author therein says, “ Every post brings me accounts of the “ failures of vaccination. From Hertford-  
“ shire I have notice of four cases within the  
“ last month, two of which were fatal ; but,  
“ *as I do not admit hearsay evidence*, I must  
“ enquire more particularly before I publish  
“ them. For my own part, I tremble to think  
“ on the perils which await society, from the  
“ prevalence of vaccination.”—Do you, my dear Sir, give any credence to this man’s assertion, that he receives “ accounts of  
“ failures every post ?” Will you believe him when he says, “ I do not admit hearsay  
“ evidence ?” Is it possible that the author can speak the truth, and yet publish so small a number of failures ? Do you not think he

is willing to print all the objections he could rake together? What then means that pretence of being so candid as to "enquire more particularly," before he attaches credit to the above cases? Why does he insult the public with a profession, that he takes any pains at all to ascertain the truth? Are not his stories now in circulation, and especially his "Ringwood Narrative," quite sufficient to refute every word he may choose to advance, about his fidelity or scrupulosity in the selection of facts? What an odious and offensive thing it is, to find these groundless professions still coming from such a quarter! But he only treads in the steps of his predecessor and intimate friend Dr. Rowley, who was open to the artifices of every fraudulent case-maker or superficial reporter; although he used to say, "It is necessary always to know whether a man be a matter-of-fact-man, a strict adherer to nothing but truth:" for, "truth alone is the object of my enquiry, and to sacred truth alone should contending parties make their appeal, and submissively abide by her decision."

Among the failures published by Dr. Rowley, I have pointed out (in my pamphlet

called "The Vaccine Contest") more than one hundred and fifty, which he himself admitted did not terminate in the small-pox ; one hundred and twenty-seven patients, whose names or places of abode are not mentioned, nor the practitioners who vaccinated them, if they ever were at all ; thirteen more supposed (but not proved) to have got the cow-pox by milking ; one hundred and forty-five cases of failure, occasioned by the subjects being all exposed to the small-pox previous to vaccination ; some patients who had these two diseases together ; numbers more who were repeatedly inoculated without "taking" the infection, as the Doctor acknowledged ; a large proportion of others actually described twice or three times over, in the same publication, but reckoned as different patients : exclusive of the absurd descriptions he gave, of cow-pox after small-pox ; cow-pox pustular eruptions ; contagious cow-pox ; persons not even attempted to be inoculated ; some cases of people who never existed ; others explained and satisfactorily accounted for, by former writers ; with a small number allowed to be dead, and yet said to have attended the Doctor at St. Mary-le-bone Infirmary ! Such, Sir, you will remember were his truly "visible,

“indubitable, and self-evident facts:” and I suppose many of Mr. Birch’s “*every-day*” cases of failure are about as authentic.

The ease with which anti-vaccinists are imposed on, is obvious from the subjoined account, which I have just received from Mr. Mathias, a respectable Surgeon at Judd Place, Somers Town; and who has fully authorized me to make it public, in order to demonstrate the cullibility of some persons, claiming superior discernment and a profound knowledge of mankind. Below is the statement: *valeat quantum valere potest.*\*

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\* Mr. Mathias was formerly a practitioner at Sandbach, in Cheshire, where the inhabitants used to oppose vaccination by every possible means; but now they are decidedly in its favour, being fully convinced of their error by his great success in the Jennerian practice. Mr. Mathias says, the small-pox raged most dreadfully and frequently in that neighbourhood, until he introduced vaccine inoculation; but that it was at last so entirely subdued, as not to be once seen or heard of during the two years before he left Sandbach, and came to reside near London. He has vaccinated in town and country about 3000, without any unpleasant consequences; and 500 of them were afterwards (at different periods) ineffectually inoculated for the small-pox. In the winter of 1807 he attended many persons having the small-pox, at Somers Town; seven of whom caught the disease in one



The never-ending researches of our Inquirer have led him to “ the original Institution in Broad Street,” and to “ the Institution once known by the name of the Small-pox Hospital, but which has been of late converted into a Cow-pox Station.” He says, “ the original Institution have favoured the public with thirteen cases which have come to their knowledge :” and per-

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fortnight : they lodged near the Small-pox Hospital, and *all died* ! He tells me, the inhabitants of that quarter are at present much distressed by the frequent appearance of patients, who go backwards and forwards under so contagious a disease, after inoculation at the Small-pox Hospital.

You will have no difficulty, Sir, in believing all this. But the particular fact I now wish to insist on, is as follows : A patient of Mr. Mathias's, who has often been at a loss to maintain his family, assured this gentleman that the late Dr. Rowley was in the habit of calling on him for intelligence relative to failures in vaccination ; that the poor man found it advantageous to himself, as well as very flattering, to be thus frequently visited by a learned Physician ; and that he not only recited from time to time any hearsay stories he could find out, but did not hesitate to augment occasionally the number of tales he had heard *by some fictions of his own* ! Mr. Mathias himself has repeatedly enquired into cases reported to him as failures, and in no instance has been able to substantiate the alleged facts !

haps the same cases (*not one of which occurred at the Institution*) may have been long ago brought before the public ; so that Mr. Birch might have spared himself the trouble of dragging “ the parties ” forward again, “ for “ the Investigators belonging to the College “ and the *Runners* of the Jennerian Society.” Does he really deem the opposers of vaccination murderers, or forgers of base coin, that the Society should employ “ Runners ” like the Police-office in Bow Street ? “ But “ *murder* will come out,” as his old friend Dr. Rowley said, in the last of his publications ; and “ those will be considered “ the greatest enemies to society, who “ longest persist in spreading the *criminal* “ *and murderous evil.*” How prophetic ! how just ! how appropriate to our own times ! Would you not think Dr. Rowley had constructed this double-edged weapon on purpose to make it cut both ways ? *He* used to apply it to vaccinators ; but, *you* know in what manner it ought to have been employed.

Mr. Birch thinks the “ Small-pox Hospital has been of late converted into a cow-pox station.” I will tell the public what

kind of a "COW-POX STATION," and am very sorry an occurrence of recent date compels me to say any thing upon that subject. I should have been gladly excused from offering my sentiments on so delicate an affair: but, *Salus Populi suprema Lex*. I cannot be wholly excused in *Foro Conscientiæ*; and therefore must perform a task, as unpleasant to my feelings as a surgical operation, which nothing except the possible advantages resulting from it could induce me to meddle with. You know I have my feelings as well as others; my professional connexions have feelings too: and I cannot help feeling especially for two respectable gentlemen, at the Small-pox Hospital, who doubtless execute their public duty with all the anxiety for their patients which I do for mine. To them I owe an expression of unfeigned thanks for the civilities and attentions I have always experienced from them; but still, I cannot shun to declare my mind on the practice at the Small-pox Hospital, and on the singular medical notions entertained by its Physician. If you admit (as I am sure you will) that I perform this task most reluctantly, you also must acknowledge that when a grievous abuse exists in a public

institution, and duty calls for my assistance, I am not apt to be the last in setting a shoulder to the wheel. But, lest I too much interrupt the general course of my observations on Mr. Birch's pamphlet, and detain you too long on a matter not largely insisted on by him, I hasten to close my remarks on that publication, before I direct your attention towards a new object.

After alluding to the "failure and mischiefs" arising from the vaccine practice at the Small-pox Hospital, Mr. Birch adds, "Let Dr. Jenner declare what was the reason that the Gloucester regiment, under the command of his brother-in-law, vaccinated by matter sent by himself, *were not secured from subsequent small-pox?*" This connected challenge and dark intimation were deemed by me too injurious in their tendency to be passed over with silent contempt. I therefore wrote to you for an explanation, not doubting that it would prove as satisfactory to myself and the public as could be desired. An extract from your reply I now beg leave to subjoin; and hope this freedom will be readily forgiven, considering the pernicious effects which Mr. Birch's uncon-



tradicted insinuation might otherwise have produced.

“ In the little dirty pamphlet” (sent by me to Dr. Jenner, though no mention had been made of its author) “ I think I can trace not only the pen of Mr. Birch, but that of another hand, one worthy to be his associate, Dr. Moseley—*Par nobile!* I should long since have acknowledged your kind attention, in sending me the proof of your friendship; but thought it most prudent to wait for an answer to my letter from the Surgeon of the North Gloucester regiment of militia, to whom I referred Mr. Birch’s insinuations respecting the failure of vaccination in that battalion. You will be much pleased with Mr. Hayward’s report. I have another corroborating testimony from my brother-in-law, Colonel Kingscote, which is at your service, if wished for.

“ Believe me,

“ Your obliged and

“ *Cheltenham,*

“ Sincere friend,

“ 7th Feb. 1808.

“ E. JENNER.”

I thought it superfluous to obtain the tes-

timony of Colonel Kingscote, as that of Mr. Hayward, the Surgeon, was so decisive ; and of which I now add a copy :

“ SIR,

*Feb. 2, 1808.*

“ Having been informed that you were  
“ desirous of ascertaining the result of the  
“ vaccine practice, in the North Gloucester  
“ militia, I beg leave most candidly to  
“ observe, that in no one instance have I  
“ known vaccination (either in or out of the  
“ regiment) to be ineffectual ; but, on the  
“ contrary, uniformly safe, and affording  
“ *perfect* security from the small-pox.

“ I have the honour to be, Sir,

“ Your obedient, humble servant,

“ J. C. HAYWARD,

“ *Surgeon to the North Gloucester*

“ *Regiment.*”

How is it, my dear Sir, that these sagacious and indefatigable alarmists cannot produce any thing worse against your extensive practice, than this pitiful suggestion of Mr. Birch ? If they could but find out, or even invent, *one* plausible case of failure, *one* instance of the small-pox after your own inoculations, what a theme of insolent boasting it

would be ! But, instead of proving any such thing, they are obliged to drag into public notice the effects produced by careless, or at least imperfect, vaccination; and sometimes by the mistakes of practitioners, who, perhaps, have not vaccinated so many individuals as you have thousands !

These disappointed and captious people should read what some of the honourable Members of the House of Commons said on this subject : “ I am extremely hurt indeed  
“ to observe, that in this country alone, in  
“ which the discovery has originated, the  
“ salutary practice of vaccine inoculation has  
“ been of late years undergoing a retrograde  
“ movement. What then has been the real  
“ cause of this melancholy circumstance ?  
“ Objections certainly have been started ; and  
“ the promulgation of them has no doubt  
“ had the effect of arresting very considerably  
“ the progress of vaccination, and of spread-  
“ ing abroad the original malady of small-  
“ pox, thereby increasing the number of its  
“ victims.” So said Lord Henry Petty ;  
who also shewed, that in the year 1804, when  
vaccination was more extensively practised in  
London, only one third the number of indi-

viduals perished by the small-pox, as had died of this disease, on an average, during the six preceding years ! He hoped the enquiry by the College of Physicians “ would prove, “ that the bad effects ascribed to vaccination “ have been dreadfully exaggerated ; and that “ the temporary duration of its benefits, in a “ few cases, had been owing to some kind of “ mismanagement.” — Mr. William Smith also expressed his conviction, that the prejudices existing against the practice have chiefly arisen from its being conducted by ignorant and careless persons.—Agreeably to this sentiment, Mr. I. H. Browne observed, “ that “ there is not *a single instance* of any failure, “ of any kind, in the practice where Dr. Jenner himself has superintended the process : “ and I have no doubt that if there was an “ opportunity afforded to this Committee to “ sit and examine other persons, every one of “ those cases which are stated (by the College “ of Surgeons) to have been failures, would “ be explained, and appear to have originated “ from the ignorance or unskilfulness of some “ persons who undertook the operation.” — In like manner Mr. Wilberforce said, “ that “ really there is reason for believing, where “ any disappointment has taken place in vac-



“ cination, it has been owing to the ignorance  
“ of the operator.”—(Mr. Murray’s Debates.)

There is; however, another source of mischief and fatality which I think, from what happened at Ringwood, is not sufficiently considered: viz. the misapprehensions of patients themselves, who too often fancy the simple puncture with a vaccinator’s lancet enough to secure them from catching the small-pox, without waiting for the future process, the appearance of a genuine vesicle; and perhaps exposing their persons to that contagious malady, on the very day of the vaccine inoculation! This mistake, so productive of disaster where the inoculation fails to succeed, as it frequently does on the first attempt, especially with dry matter, should be speedily counteracted—by diffusing that knowledge among the people at large which medical men are convinced is absolutely necessary for the public welfare. And indeed, Sir, we may add, that some professional gentlemen act as if they believed there was no danger whatever, in crowding together *people loaded with variolous eruptions, among those who are attending at the same time and place for vaccine inoculation!* Such inju-

elicious conduct, in my opinion, cannot be reprobated with sufficient severity, in practitioners who are entrusted with the medical department of an extensive Institution, (such as the SMALL-POX HOSPITAL,) situated in the immediate vicinity of the British metropolis! But, I am unwilling to anticipate the observations which I have reserved for the concluding pages of this Letter.

Mr. Birch has closed his pamphlet with the following remark: “ Mr. Rose did say, “ when the catastrophe in his neighbourhood called on his humanity to enquire into “ it, that he would send for Dr. Jenner. If “ Dr. Jenner refused to come, his refusal is “ enough to sign the death-warrant of the “ experiment; for the public will not be “ satisfied with the testimony of such men “ as those who flew to the spot for evidence, “ —*while they know that two persons died of “ cow-pox, that sixty had the small-pox, after “ being promised protection by vaccination, “ and that eighteen of them died of the small-pox.*”

*Finis coronat opus!* Thus it appears (if you believe Mr. Birch) that all our anxious

labours are lost !—that our careful investigation is of no use, as it will not be regarded by impartial judges !—that the anonymous pamphleteer is entitled to full credit, and expects the thanks of all mankind !—that “ the “ testimony of men who flew to the spot for “ evidence ” without fee or reward, and even with much inconvenience to themselves, is not so deserving of belief as the naked declarations of an idle opposer, who neither went to the spot, nor employed the evidence communicated by an eye-witness, to whom he applied for information !—and lastly, that this conceited author, whose veracity is a little (or rather, not a little) shaken by his insidious conduct, imagines he has “ totally “ subverted the Report of the College of “ Physicians, by his Round Unvarnished “ Tale.”—My dear Sir, how mortifying, that the Ringwood Deputation should have thrown away their precious time, and spent so many days to no purpose ! For, we are not mercenary. “ *hireling* Writers of the Reports “ of Institutions,” as Mr. Birch delicately insinuates ; Dr. Knowles gaining nothing but trouble on this occasion, while Mr. Ring and myself are actual losers ; but we executed our important duty *con amore*, without any

prospect of remuneration, beyond that of an approving conscience!

We are now told, in the most degrading terms, that all our pains-taking is unprofitable to the public, and utterly unworthy of notice, because *you* could not attend with us and direct our proceedings! This alone, Mr. Birch says, “is enough to sign the death-warrant of the experiment.” Had he made the slightest enquiry, he might soon have learnt why it was impracticable for you to attend; namely, on account of your eldest Son’s struggling under the crisis of a dangerous typhus fever. If he had ever experienced the pangs of parental attachment, in similar circumstances, surely he could not have aggravated your feelings by so insulting and unjust a reflection. \*

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\* This was the only reason assigned by Dr. Jenner, and I suppose will be deemed quite sufficient, for declining to comply with the Society’s earnest request that he would visit Ringwood. At his special desire, a *third* person was added to the Deputation previously appointed.

The following document (addressed to me) will serve as a proof of this remark :

“ SIR,

“ Having seen a letter from Dr. Jenner to Mr. Mur-



Dr. FOWLER's sanction and assistance at Ringwood was extremely acceptable to all parties ; and the perfect concurrence of such a truly distinguished Physician afterwards,

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“ ray, Secretary of the Royal Jennerian Society, stating  
“ that, on account of the alarming illness of his eldest  
“ Son, he cannot comply with the request of the Board  
“ of Directors expressed on the 24th instant, by meeting  
“ Mr. Ring and Dr. Knowles at Ringwood, to enquire  
“ into the cases there, alleged against vaccination ; and  
“ it being the wish of Dr. Jenner that some other gen-  
“ tleman should be appointed to accompany Mr. Ring  
“ in this investigation ; WE, as Directors of the Royal  
“ Jennerian Society, (in compliance with the wish of  
“ Dr. Jenner, and sensible of the great importance of  
“ the above enquiry, also considering that the time will  
“ not allow a formal meeting of the Board,) do earnestly  
“ request that you will immediately attend at Ring-  
“ wood, in order to assist on this occasion.

“ *Dated the 27th day of December, 1807.*

Signed by      “ RICHARD PHILLIPS,  
                         “ J. T. RUTT,  
                         “ SAM. WOODS,  
                         “ J. YELLOLY,  
                         “ ALEXANDER MARCET,  
                         “ THOMAS PAYTHERUS,  
                         “ ROBERT WILLAN.

“ *To William Blair, Esq.*”

It is almost needless to add, that the above REQUISITION was confirmed by a subsequent Board of the Directors.

was considered by ourselves an invaluable acquisition to the Report. Nor will Mr. Birch dare to make light of the name of the Right Honourable Gentleman who permitted the Society to add his approving testimony to our Report, so far as he could be supposed a judge of the subject; that is, in all points therein recited, which are not expressly of a medical nature, and which he had either personally witnessed, or had duly enquired into. We have the further sanction of both the Surgeons residing at Ringwood, affording collateral and independent evidence of some facts, deemed of considerable importance. I omitted, however, to mention, that Mr. WESTCOTT, in a letter to me, dated February the 7th, 1808, says—He “cannot ascertain how many were inoculated with cow-pox matter; but, ALL who went through regular vaccination resisted the small-pox:” so that Mr. Birch’s false assertion, relative to this particular point, needs no other reply; for he cannot with decency or consistency reject the declaration of a gentleman whom he formerly relied on, when Mr. Westcott was a decided adversary to the Jennerian practice, and communicated his ill success to the College.

There is yet one subject to be touched on again, before I quit the anonymous pamphlet. I did not know till very lately, when I was conversing with my respected friend Mr. ASTLEY COOPER, that the note which Mr. Birch gives at page 16, without marking it by inverted commas, formed a part of Mr. Cooper's communication to the College of Surgeons above a year ago. When I shewed the pamphlet to him, February the 20th, I noticed his great surprise at Mr. Birch's unwarrantable freedom, as well as the mode in which he had contrived, by a partial extract, to make him an advocate on the wrong side of the question! Therefore, to prevent any ill impression being made, by the *seeming adverse* sentiments of that intelligent Surgeon, as if he were now an enemy to vaccination, in consequence of the unfavourable results he witnessed in one family, I subjoin his real practical views and determination at present. Mr. Cooper assured me, "that what had  
" happened in the family above mentioned,  
" was an occurrence which he considered  
" *entirely* dependent on a peculiarity of constitution; and that the number of deaths,  
" as well as other very baneful consequences,  
" resulting from variolous inoculation, had so

“ much exceeded those from the vaccine, *even*  
“ *admitting all which is said against the cow-*  
“ *pox to be true*, that he felt no hesitation  
“ whatever in recommending and practising  
“ vaccination in preference to the small-pox,  
“ on EVERY occasion that his opinion had  
“ been asked, or his assistance called for.”

It is now, my dear Sir, proper to introduce the Society's Report, printed on the 3d of February; together with the several documents attached thereto, from Dr. Fowler, Mr. Westcott, and Mr. Macilwain.

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*Salisbury Square, February 3, 1808.*

THE Royal Jennerian Society, deeply impressed with the importance of their pledge to the public, in recommending Vaccination as a security against the Small-Pox, and feeling equally the claim the public have on them to justify this pledge by offering such information as may remove any reasonable doubt respecting this security, think it their duty to publish an abstract of their proceedings, in consequence of the alarm excited by the supposed failures of Vaccination at Ringwood.

Upon information received from the Right Honourable George Rose, M. P. to whom the Society are greatly indebted for his zeal and attention on this interesting occasion, the Society appointed a Medical Deputation; consisting of John Ring, Esq. Vice-President, W. Blair,



200 *Report of the Jennerian Society*

Esq. Director, and Dr. J. S. Knowles, their Resident Inoculator.

These Gentlemen, assisted by Dr. Fowler, an eminent Physician of Salisbury, who is totally unconnected with this Society, proceeded to Ringwood; where a public meeting was convened at the Town Hall, and attended by the Right Honourable George Rose, W. Mills, Esq. M. P. S. Tuncks, Esq. a Magistrate of the town, the Rev. Dr. Taylor, the Rev. Mr. Davies, the Rev. Mr. Middleton, Mr. Westcott and Mr. Macilwain, Surgeons of Ringwood, and the other principal inhabitants of that town and neighbourhood. In their presence the medical gentlemen, during two whole days, went into a close investigation of these supposed failures of Vaccination.

Their report (which is open to the inspection of any medical man) affords the most consolatory results. These general results the Society now lay before the public, to defeat the effects of prejudice or misrepresentation, and to confirm the efficacy and advantage of Dr. Jenner's great discovery, *the Cow Pock Inoculation*, as a safe, mild, and *uncontagious* antidote against that most terrible and *contagious* malady the Small Pox.

On the whole, the Medical Deputation are perfectly satisfied, after a minute and careful examination of the numerous cases brought before them, that no instance occurred, during the dreadful visitation at Ringwood, of the Small-pox having taken place where the process of Vaccination had been complete; and they have the highest satisfaction in offering to the public a confirmation of their own opinion, in the subjoined communications from the two medical practitioners at Ringwood, by whom the majority of the inhabitants were inoculated.

*General Result of the Enquiry into the unfavourable Reports concerning Vaccination at Ringwood.*

THE Small-pox appeared at Ringwood about the middle of September ; and rapidly spread through the town and neighbourhood, partly by means of inoculation, and partly by natural infection.

Vaccine inoculation did not commence until the 23d of October ; it is therefore evident, that all those persons who were vaccinated, had been previously exposed to the contagion of the Small-pox.

Some of these persons had the Small-pox at the same time with the Cow-pock, in consequence of previous infection. In others, vaccine inoculation did not take effect ; and consequently they were not rendered insusceptible of the infection of the Small-pox.

In various instances, dry Cow-pock matter, received from several quarters, was dissolved in water almost boiling, previous to insertion ; and it is probable, that on this account it frequently failed to produce any effect. Above two hundred persons, however, were successfully vaccinated ; and have been protected from the Small-pox, though much exposed to its infection in different ways.

It was asserted, that the Small-pox was more fatal, at Ringwood and the neighbouring villages, to those persons who were inoculated for the Cow-pock, than to others. This report appeared to be totally destitute of foundation. The mortality was indeed considerable, owing in some instances to want of air and cleanliness ; and in others to the immoderate use of spirituous liquors, particularly at the time of the eruption, which had been recommended by a Thresher, who inoculates for the Small-pox.

It was reported, that several persons at Ringwood, who were inoculated with the Cow-pock some years ago, lately had the Small-pox: but no satisfactory evidence was given to establish the fact; as it appeared either that their arms had not been inspected by the inoculator after Vaccination, or that there was no proper scar left behind; or on the other hand, when they were put to the test of variolous inoculation, no other effect was produced, than what is occasionally produced in those who have previously had the Small-pox.

It was also insidiously reported that two persons died of the Cow-pock (or as it has been termed, the “Vaccine ulcer”): but it is positively asserted by the surgeons who inoculated them, that no Vaccine ulcer, nor Cow-pock, took place in either of those instances; and that the patients died of other diseases—one of them of an apoplexy.

JOHN RING.

WILLIAM BLAIR.

J. S. KNOWLES.

THE preceding Report having been submitted to Dr. Fowler, an answer (*dated Sarum, Jan. 31st*) has been received, in which he says, “I perfectly approve of this Report; as it very accurately expresses the opinion which I have formed, of the causes of the supposed failures of Vaccination at Ringwood.” Mr. ROSE has likewise permitted the Jennerian Society to add, “that he has seen this Report, and concurs in it, so far as he is able to form a judgment on the subject.”

*By Order of the General Court.*

CHARLES MURRAY,

Secretary.

*Extract of a Letter from Mr. Westcott to Mr. Blair,  
dated Ringwood, Jan. 10, 1808.*

“ Mr. Birch must now be convinced by my answer to his letter, that his statement is *directly wrong*, respecting the failures of Vaccination at Ringwood; and you are at perfect liberty to make use of my name, in any manner you may think proper, to convince the world that Mr. Birch has asserted a falsehood.”

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*Copy of a Letter from Mr. Westcott to Mr. Ring,  
dated Ringwood, Jan. 15, 1808.*

DEAR SIR,

I am of opinion that not one person in Ringwood or its neighbourhood, caught or had the Small-pox after going through regular and complete Vaccination.

I remain, dear Sir, your obedient Servant,

W. WESTCOTT.

P. S. Yours would have been answered sooner, but I could not see Mr. Macilwain till last evening. He says, these are exactly his sentiments. .

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*Copy of a Letter from Mr. Macilwain to Mr. Ring,  
dated Ringwood, Jan. 25, 1808.*

DEAR SIR,

In answer to your letter, which was dated 21st instant, but which I only received on Saturday the 23d, I have to inform you that the resolution which appeared in the Salisbury and London papers, respecting the Vaccination here, contained my sentiments, and



that I have no reason to alter my opinion at present. The advertisement I allude to is the following :

“ After a most careful and minute investigation of those cases in which the Small-pox occurred subsequently to inoculation for the Cow-pox, it appeared, that such inoculation had not taken effect, or that when an effect had been produced, the progress of Vaccination was interrupted, so as to render the patients insecure.

“ The result cannot fail to be highly interesting to the inhabitants of Ringwood, and of the neighbouring parishes; inasmuch as it must remove the feeling of alarm which had been excited, and restore and confirm the confidence of the public in a practice affording protection against a pestilential disease, justly esteemed the scourge of the human race.

“ The investigation was made in the presence of some of the most respectable gentlemen of the town and neighbourhood, by Dr. Fowler of Salisbury, and a deputation of three members of the Royal Jennerian Society of London.”

I proposed to *re-vaccinate* many persons with the matter you were so kind to give me ; but I only used it in two instances, IN BOTH OF WHICH IT SUCCEEDED.

I cannot say more to you on the subject of Vaccination, than I did when you were at Ringwood. I consider it as an inestimable blessing; and solemnly and seriously am of opinion, that it is a preventive and effectual preservative against the Small-pox, when carefully conducted: and if the people of Ringwood had allowed themselves to have been fairly and honestly informed of its merits, the lives of many would have been saved, and the malicious intentions of some persons in this quarter, to stigmatize the Jennerian system, would have been defeated.

The enemies of Vaccination did all they could to propagate the Small-pox among those who were desirous of the Cow-pox ; and the people were much too ineautious to give the new inoculation any thing like a fair chance.

If any thing worth communication should occur, I shall very gladly avail myself of your desire to hear from me. In the mean time

I am, dear Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

G. MACILWAIN.

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*Observations.*

There are several points in the preceding Report, &c. which are briefly mentioned, and may deserve further notice ; besides which, I think it right to make a few observations, in addition to what the Directors of the Society have published. One reason why this Report was so short is, that there seemed no medium betwixt inserting *all* the facts and only a *few* of them : for, if only a small portion of them had been introduced, many people would have supposed our selection was unjust or partial ; and if they had all been inserted, our Report would have been too bulky for general and gratuitous circulation. The best mode of removing this difficulty was, to afford an opportunity for *any medical gentlemen*, who alone could be judges of the subject, to examine our fair notes ; which were copied from the original minutes of Mr. Rose, Mr. Mills, Dr. Fowler, and the three Members of the Deputation, including some papers from other individuals, and the authorized parish-list of all persons who had caught the small-pox at Ringwood after supposed vaccination.

I have already hinted at one circumstance, my dear Sir, which occasioned a great number of the reputed failures in Ringwood ; namely, a firm persuasion (which indeed generally prevailed) that individuals were protected against the contagion of the small-pox, immediately after an attempt had been made to vaccinate them. This ideal security induced persons to visit their infected neighbours, and even to dwell in the same houses with those who laboured under the small pox, before the slightest proof existed of the vaccine inoculation having taken due effect ! So grievous and fatal an error shews the vast importance of disseminating instructions on this subject, in every possible way, during the unrestrained dissemination of a contagious plague at the same time and in the same places as its uncontagious preventive : it shews, in a striking point of view, the crude and imperfect notions which, at this advanced period of your discovery, predominate among the common people, if not among medical gentlemen themselves : it demonstrates, therefore, the indispensable necessity of distributing throughout the kingdom, by national means, some plain and concise account of the nature and advantages of the JENNERIAN practice, with judicious directions for its management. Too many there are, who take up the vaccine lancet, with very superficial, if not erroneous notions, of the rules laid down by the Inventor himself ; and you, Sir, could name two or three Physicians, AT THE HEAD OF PUBLIC VACCINATING INSTITUTIONS, who pay so little regard to those rules, as almost to set them at defiance ! Is not this a fit subject of parliamentary attention ?

Another circumstance deserving of remark is, the long neglect which there must have been at Ringwood and the adjacent villages of a general inoculation. I do not

mention this, however, as a peculiar and uncommon case; for there are perhaps but few parishes where, at certain times, one might not find two thirds or more of the inhabitants wholly unprotected,—not having had either the small-pox or cow-pock. This is indeed an awful consideration; when you recollect that any needy person, the most ignorant and unthinking, (who perhaps are more likely than others to commence inoculators,) may now take up the infected needle and spread devastation through a populous town or county! Really the thought of such indiscriminating murderous conduct, against which we have no law, is enough to make reflecting minds tremble! The least we can hope for is, that Government will see the critical state of the people to be so imminent, as to impose some restriction upon those who are actually infected; and no longer suffer them either to enter the peaceful habitations of their unprotected neighbours, or to range at large in frequented roads, &c. &c. A single patient may now enter a country town, as happened at Ringwood, and throw the whole of its inhabitants into the utmost consternation!

I have told you, that about 2000 persons had the small-pox in Ringwood and its vicinity; seventy of whom were inoculated for that disorder on the 10th of October, which was exactly five weeks after the first introduction of a variolous subject into the town. If a parochial arrangement had speedily been made, for vaccinating all those who desired it, only ten days previous to the inoculation of the small-pox, while in the interim those few who caught this disease had been secluded, how different would the result have been! and then vaccination might have stood a tolerable chance of receiving a fair trial, provided it were conducted according to your mode of procedure. But, unfortunately, several errors



were committed in the practice ; which I cannot suppose will ever happen again, as the medical gentlemen are now better informed, and may not in future be obliged to vaccinate so large a number at once, from so scanty a stock of matter. The first important practical error to which I allude, was that of diluting the dry vaccine virus with water “almost boiling” before it was inserted, which would be likely to decompose it and spoil its virtue ; the second was in extracting “every particle” of lymph from some of the vaccinated people, and thereby totally depriving them of all protection against the small-pox ! The accidental rupture of a vesicle (especially when there is but one) will sometimes deprive patients of the benefit intended by vaccination : how much more then will they be rendered insecure, by completely obliterating the cow-pock ? If the practitioners at Ringwood had not, in the most candid and open manner, declared their mistake in this respect, we should probably have discovered it in a few instances, from not finding the proper vestiges of recent cow-pock inoculation on the patients’ arms.

There was also some degree of confusion in the evidence delivered, respecting particular cases, for want of exact registers and dates ; which certainly ought to have been kept, and perhaps would, if the extreme pressure of medical business in that district had not made it impossible. But, we found blame attached to the Surgeons, where it seemed not at all merited ; and, when the circumstances were fully explained, it was observable that many of the mistakes imputed to them belonged to other persons, especially to the individuals who did not comply with their instructions. In several cases of obvious or supposed failure, the people had been required to attend on the Surgeons, for re-inoculation, but neg-

lected to do so; and, in various other examples, a slight festering, a transient inflammation, or a little abscess in the vaccinated part, was judged by the patients to be a certain proof of the genuine effect, which might excuse their attendance again: whereas, none of these persons could have been warranted secure from the contagion of small-pox, though they did not hesitate to expose themselves to it very freely. The evidence collected at Ringwood by Mr. Rose, on the 20th of December, and transmitted by him to the Jennerian Society, stated some facts which might have convinced the Parish-officers that vaccination properly managed would prevent the small-pox: for, they allowed that “*thirty-nine* persons in the “work-house were vaccinated, who all did perfectly “well; and, though *none* of them avoided the small- “pox, not one of them had taken it.” It was also stated to Mr. Rose, that “a gentleman’s servant was “vaccinated, and had not taken the small-pox, though “he had not kept out of the way of it;” and “another “case exactly similar was related:” also “two children “vaccinated, had slept with persons in the natural “small-pox, and did not take it;” and two women (one of them the Overseer’s wife) “succeeded as well.” All these facts were publicly acknowledged; so that, without any other favourable events, the more intelligent and considerate parishioners might have concluded, that vaccination itself was not wholly in fault.

From the letter of Mr. Macilwain to Mr. Ring (Jan. 25th), and another which I have seen from Mr. Westcott to Dr. Knowles, it appears evident that some of those persons at Ringwood who were supposed to be completely affected by the cow-pock inoculation, had not actually undergone the process; for otherwise they could not have been immediately RE-VACCINATED, as

they were. Mr. Macilwain “*only used the matter in two instances, in both of which it succeeded.*” This vaccine matter was distributed to several gentlemen at Ringwood while we were there, for the express purpose of giving the Jennerian practice a fresh trial; and the Rev. Mr. Davies, as well as both the Surgeons, had some of it. If we produced no other proof whatever than the above fact, you would allow that vaccination could not have been fairly tried, before our enquiries commenced; and I wish this fact to be duly weighed, as constituting a species of evidence quite independent of all private opinion or conjecture: nor do I foresee, in what manner our opponents can evade so obvious a deduction!

After the first day's examination, at the Town-hall in Ringwood, the Deputation returned to Mr. Rose's seat at Cuffnells; where, reflecting on the importance of their mission, the difficulty of removing popular prejudice, the seeming defects of the evidence then collected, and the probability of obtaining still more satisfactory proofs of the causes of what had disquieted the neighbourhood, it was resolved to employ another whole day in the investigation of such cases as had not been completely developed. Early in the morning of December 30th, Dr. Fowler and the Deputation renewed their enquiries at Ringwood, where previous measures had been concerted to ensure the assistance of many respectable gentlemen and the parochial officers; most of whom came forward with new evidence, after having re-examined and approved our minutes, taken on the former day. The result, as you have seen, was such as to vindicate the Jennerian practice from all charges of insufficiency or failure in its prophylactic powers, when judiciously conducted. And I hope, Sir, that this au-



thentic information, in addition to the Report, will serve to convince those who are open to conviction, of our sincere desire to elicit the truth, without indulging improper prejudices or partialities. At least, I am confident of one thing—that our observations will demonstrate the extreme arrogance and presumption of a person, who could declare “*the Report of the College of Physicians to be so decidedly overthrown by the occurrences at Ringwood, as to merit the enquiry of Parliament !*”

I shall now, Sir, take leave of this intemperate disputant, who seems very apt to forget, that the measure he has given to others may possibly be returned to him again. But if, on perusing these pages, he should rudely accuse me of dealing out harsh and personal reflections, unbecoming a liberal-minded Surgeon, in the defence of a good cause, let me ask him, Who prepared an anonymous DRESSING FOR THE LATE LORD CHANCELLOR THURLOW? \* Who charged that exalted Nobleman with being “a victim to the mean suggestions of interest,” and so governed “by the dirty zeal of a faction” as to discourage “an undertaking built on the well-grounded plea of public utility?” Who, on that occasion, used the most vulgar and indecorous language to one of the most learned characters of our age? Were I disposed to be still more severe in my remarks, I would retort the author’s own words; although addressed to a personage so much his superior in knowledge, in rank, and in the public estimation: For example,

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\* Mr. Birch published an anonymous pamphlet in defence of the Surgeon’s Bill, entitled, “A DRESSING FOR L\*\*D T\*\*R\*\*W, PREPARED BY A SURGEON, 1797.” The author is, therefore, well trained and experienced in the art of stabbing his enemies in the dark!



“ If my guinea is bad,” says Mr. BIRCH, “ I am  
“ only a guinea the poorer ; but if my opinion or prae-  
“ tice is bad, I am not only injured in my own reputa-  
“ tion, but transmit my crime to posterity ! You have  
“ given an irreparable affront to a body of men, whom  
“ you cannot injure, and therefore should blush to calum-  
“ niate ! There is a sort of vanity even in posthumous  
“ reputation : and, be assured of this, that in the annals  
“ of medical science your name will ever be recorded  
“ with detestation, and pronounced with contempt !  
“ Was I disposed to be prophetic, I might describe  
“ the rising generation burning you in effigy, like ano-  
“ ther FAWKES ! For us, our measure of revenge will  
“ be full, from the inevitable obloquy that will attend  
“ your decrepitude ! As Patriots then we say, we sin-  
“ cerely pity your blind, unpopular zeal ; but, as men,  
“ we shall reap advantages from your hatred, which we  
“ could never have expected from your friendship ! THE  
“ SARCASTIC AND ILLIBERAL WAY IN WHICH YOU  
“ HAVE TREATED THE PROFESSION, WILL, I TRUST,  
“ JUSTIFY ME IN THUS OPENLY AVOWING MY DE-  
“ TESTATION OF YOUR CONDUCT. A PUBLIC INSULT  
“ DEMANDS A PUBLIC VINDICATION : and though I am  
“ not so vain as to think this Letter will make any im-  
“ pression on a mind like yours, I hope it will expose  
“ your instability, and crush the effects of your preju-  
“ dice. The fact is, you are wrong ; your wit, your  
“ buffoonery, and your whole argument, is a congestion  
“ of falsehoods ! Your exploits, like those of ALEX-  
“ ANDER, may be memorable ; but, he who reads the  
“ works of HIPPOCRATES, will wonder that you are not  
“ enumerated among his diseases ! And had you been  
“ bred a BARBER-surgeon, you had probably been com-  
“ pelled, with all your abilities, to growl beneath the

“ first of these occupations, because your want of hu-  
“ manity had rendered you incapable of the latter ; nor  
“ would it have been a vast addition to even Mambrino’s  
“ helmet, that you had been left in the suds ! Then,  
“ whence have you the indecency to vilify an art, the  
“ mysteries of which you cannot comprehend, with all  
“ the depth of your genius ? Had you lived in the reign  
“ of Caligula, he would have made you one of his con-  
“ suls ; and perhaps a niche in the Vatican, near your  
“ tutelar saint (THE DEVIL), would have finally re-  
“ warded your services !”

Would you think, my dear Sir, that the above appli-  
cation—called “ A DRESSING”—was intended as a mol-  
lifying plaster ? and that the mode which Mr. Birch  
took, to vindicate the honour of *surgical* professors, was  
the very best he could have invented to disgrace them ?  
He sought, by his pamphlet, to obtain the patronage of  
Government ; but, in doing so, he calumniated his Go-  
vernors and fellow-surgeons in the grossest terms possible !  
He enquired how the naval and military service “ was  
“ supplied with mates ?” whether “ From the hospitals  
“ of Great Britain, the proper seminaries of chirurgical  
“ knowledge ? No !—From the private abodes, or do-  
“ mestic tuition of respectable surgeons ? No !—How  
“ then have they originated ? Why, from the shops of  
“ apothecaries !—discarded apprentices, and uneducated  
“ porters ! But a far greater number of them needy ad-  
“ venturers from the North ; Scotch graduates, that  
“ never saw a dissection, or even handled a knife !—  
“ Precious fellows to be entrusted with lopping off legs  
“ and arms in a battle !—Their education is merely  
“ this : they come to town as ignorant and as rusticated  
“ as peasants. They walk an hospital (if they can afford  
“ it) for three months : during which time they acquire

“ a little technical phraseology ; and with this super-  
 “ ficial instruction they sally forth as mates to distribute  
 “ life and death to the miserable victims of war. It is  
 “ a notorious truth, that at sea they amputate like the  
 “ barbarians of Abyssinia ; only with this difference,  
 “ that they use a knife instead of a hatchet.” Then, as  
 if he had not said enough to exasperate those whom he  
 wanted to conciliate, Mr. Birch exclaims, “ Good God !  
 “ are the lives of His Majesty’s seamen, the invulne-  
 “ rable bulwarks, and main palladium of our strength, to  
 “ be idly sacrificed to please a junto, or pamper the  
 “ spleen of a faction ? But, perhaps it is the interest of  
 “ Government to sacrifice the lives of the wounded, ra-  
 “ ther than incur the expense of their maintenance.  
 “ This was the policy of the German Courts, and per-  
 “ haps it was the policy of other Courts !” Yet, this  
 national evil of employing “ uneducated porters,” &c.  
 did not end there ; for, says the anonymous writer,  
 “ these men, on the return of peace, thrust themselves  
 “ on the bosom of society, and commit the same enor-  
 “ mities in domestic practice, that they have been  
 “ accustomed to exercise on the continent and the  
 “ ocean !”

My motive for adding these extracts is, to shew that a  
 Surgeon who can treat his superiors in so very unfeeling  
 and opprobrious a manner, will have no cause to  
 complain that my treatment on this occasion is either  
 corrosive or unprofessional ; nor indeed will it appear to  
 be any thing like the cruel “ dressing” he himself pre-  
 pares for his equals, in cases which are not half so ma-  
 lignant as his own. Whom does not such a man insult ?  
 and, what vindictive means will he not employ ?  
 “ The beginning of the words of his mouth is foolish-  
 “ ness ; and the end of his talk is mischievous madness.”



*On the increased Practice of Inoculation, and  
the public Exposure of infected Patients,  
daily attending at the Small-pox Hospital*

I shall conclude, Sir, by offering a few remarks to your notice, on the late increase of variolous inoculation, and the dangerous exposure of infected out-patients attending at the Small-pox Hospital; to which I shall prefix an observation made by Mr. Birch on this subject, though he seems to be entirely ignorant of the real state of that Establishment.

“ At the Institution once known by the name of the  
“ SMALL-POX HOSPITAL, but which has been of late  
“ years converted into a COW-POX STATION, an ad-  
“ dition has been made to the very ample stock of ex-  
“ perience of failure and mischiefs which the Physician  
“ and Apothecary of that Institution laid before the  
“ College of Physicians, by similar cases which have  
“ been lately brought to light.”

The statement given to the College, and to which I suppose Mr. Birch here alludes, is contained in the Appendix, No. IV. of “ A popular View of Vaccine  
“ Inoculation, with the practical Mode of conducting  
“ it; shewing the Analogy between the Small-pox and  
“ Cow-pox, and the Advantages of the latter: by JO-  
“ SEPH ADAMS, M.D. F.L.S. Physician to the Small-  
“ pox and Inoculation Hospitals, &c. 1807.”—It ap-  
pears, that out of twenty thousand three hundred and  
twenty-three persons then vaccinated at the Hospital,  
twenty-one have since taken the casual small-pox, and  
three of them died. The proportion, therefore, of those  
who caught the small-pox after vaccination, is but one  
in nearly a thousand cases; and the proportion of deaths,  
only one in six thousand seven hundred and seventy-



four ! The warm friends of variolous inoculation have no cause to boast of greater success than this ; and they should also be reminded, that the thousands of cow-pox subjects who daily parade the streets of London do not scatter the seeds of death and misery wherever they appear, as those persons do who are infected by them with the variolous plague !

But, we are told by Mr. Birch, that “ the Small-pox “ Hospital is converted into a Cow-pox Station ;” by which I presume he means to insinuate, that “ this In- “ stitution *once* known by the name of the Small-pox “ Hospital,” is now no longer deserving of its original name, because it does not administer the inoculation formerly practised there. Does it then, let me ask, no longer continue an Hospital for the admission of small-pox adult subjects, and for the communication of the small-pox to all those children who are offered as out-patients ? This question will be best answered by the following official account of the practice last year, which I copy from a document recently transmitted to one of the Governors of that Hospital, by Mr. Highmore the Secretary.

PATIENTS during the year 1807.

Natural small-pox . . . . .	In	170
. . . . .	Out	37
Inoculated . . . . .	In	348
. . . . .	Out	4246
Vaccinated . . . . .	In	44
. . . . .	Out	1577
		<hr/>
In and Out Patients, . . . .	Total	6422
		<hr/>

Thus, Sir, it appears that 37 *out-patients* with the casual small-pox and 4246 inoculated, making in all

4283 out-patients, have been distributed through the streets of London and the neighbouring villages, during the last year! Suppose each of these OUT-PATIENTS should immediately infect three others, which is the lowest computation we can think probable, then will there have been twelve thousand eight hundred and forty-nine individuals more contaminated, by means of this single Institution, during the year 1807.\* Now,

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\* The proportion of deaths from small-pox in 1796, compared with the annual mortality in London (so far as it is noticed by the city bills) will be found more than the proportion of any former year; and it is certain, that the deaths from this cause exceed what they were before inoculation was practised, as the means used to protect a few individuals expose the majority of unprotected persons to variolous contagion. The only years in which the small-pox killed above 3000 individuals in this metropolis were, 1725, 1736, 1752, 1757, 1763, 1768, 1772, 1796; and in the last year, 183 persons fell victims to this disease *alone*, of every thousand who died! The fatality must greatly differ under differing circumstances; but it appears from the Reports of the Small-pox Hospital, that the mortality there, among the casual cases, is one in six at an average: in the Summer of 1800, indeed, nearly one third of them perished!

It is very doubtful how many die from inoculation there, because it is seldom the deaths of *out-patients* can be ascertained by the Physician of that Hospital; and of those who catch the disorder of such inoculated out-patients, the public remain entirely ignorant. A medical practitioner in Holborn, near Gray's Inn Lane, assured me this day, (March 8th, 1808,) that he lately has witnessed above thirty deaths; nearly a fourth of which happened in Eagle Court, and were *all* occasioned by one child infected at the Small-pox Hospital. But Dr. Willan has published a still more striking fact: "A child was inoculated, in April 1796, whose  
 " parents kept a shop in a court, consisting of about twenty  
 " houses. As the inhabitants repaired every day for necessary  
 " articles to the source of infection, the consequence was, that  
 " seventeen persons were affected with the small-pox in the

if one in six died, on an average, of those who so caught the disease, the number of deaths occasioned by the Small-pox Hospital last year will be two thousand one hundred and forty-one!!! What proportion of these have died within the parishes noticed by the bills of mortality, it is impossible to say: but, if all the out-patients of that Hospital and all the people inoculated from them should have recovered, (which cannot be admitted as true,) the certain fatal effects of those inoculated subjects being allowed to range through the British metropolis and its vicinity, must cause every feeling mind to shudder with concern! The bills of mortality do not include the deaths from this disease happening in the immensely populous parish of Mary-le-bone, nor in St. Pancras, where the Small-pox Hospital stands; but, suppose three thousand human beings perish annually in and near London (during 1796 the number was 3548 according to the bills of mortality), it is incredible that this Institution does not very largely contribute to so shocking a waste of life! And, when we recollect that the metropolis serves as a focus to concentrate the pestilential effluvia, afterwards conveyed by hundreds of channels to all parts of the British empire, spreading destruction to its remotest corners, partly through accident and partly by voluntary measures, one cannot but lament to see an Hospital so supported and so conducted in the year 1807. If the lives of more than forty thousand of our free-born countrymen be not worth preserving, year by year, let this pestilence be encouraged by similar

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“ natural way, within a fortnight after the child’s recovery; and  
 “ eight of them died of the disease.” (Willan’s Reports, p. 18.)

Oh that the Royal Patron and Governors of the PEST-HOUSE near Gray’s Inn Lane would lay to heart such awful and tremendous consequences of their benevolence!

Institutions in every city and large town of the United Kingdom! Mr. Dawson many years ago calculated the amazing increase of population which would ensue, from suppressing the small-pox so far only as to save thirty or thirty-five thousand lives for sixty years: viz.

<i>The Period of Years.</i>	<i>Increase of 30,000.</i>	<i>Increase of 35,000.</i>
10	281,922	328,909
20	527,694	615,643
30	757,322	860,209
40	910,800	1,062,600
50	1,048,146	1,222,837
60	1,149,342	1,340,899

Sir, I am persuaded the Governors of the Small-pox Hospital give their support to that Charity from the most benevolent and humane motives. It would be calumniating their characters to intimate the contrary. But the Governors are not medical men: they have confided to their proper medical officers (a Physician and Apothecary) the task of carrying their design into effect. What is their design? Is it not to save life; to snatch human beings from the jaws of a devouring enemy? If this merciful design be perverted; if the end they propose be not ultimately attained, would they not act wisely and humanely to call in the aid of Parliament (should it be required) for a melioration of their old plan? I am supposing all this while, that they acknowledge, as I am sure they now do, the possibility of greatly lessening the ravages of the small-pox, by adopting vaccination *alone*. How then have the Governors acted? And, how have their medical officers acted? in order to diffuse the blessings of vaccination and diminish the contagion of small-pox, which Dr. Adams very justly calls



“ the most dreadful of any known morbid poison.”  
 (See page 395 of his “*Observations on Morbid Poisons*,”  
 second edition, 4to. 1807.)

“ At a Committee held at the Small-pox and Inoculation Hospitals on Thursday morning, the 4th day of February, 1808, the Committee proceeded to the reconsideration of the Order of Reference from the last Court, ‘*Whether it might be proper to make any alteration in the admission of Out-patients for variolous inoculation.*’—Dr. ADAMS advised the continuance of small-pox inoculation among the infant poor, under five years of age, as OUT-PATIENTS, agreeably to Rule 55, for the following reasons: *First*, Because to refuse small-pox inoculation to those children whose parents are not reconciled to vaccination would be a certain sacrifice of one-tenth part, and the maiming or blinding many more, besides increasing the contagion by the numbers who would pass through the disease severely or die under it. *Secondly*, Because the proper means of reconciling the public to vaccination is by leaving them to see its advantages, and not by forcing it upon them. *Thirdly*, Because there are some families in which cow-pox has not proved a sufficient security. *Fourthly*, Because vaccination is given at the Inoculation Hospital to all persons who will receive it.

“ *Ordered*, That these REASONS be received and entered upon the Minutes, and printed for circulation.

“ Extracted from the Minutes.

“ A. HIGHMORE, Sec.”

I labour under the disadvantage of not possessing the series of Reports which have annually been issued from these united Institutions; but, Sir, I have one Report

which was adopted by the Governors Dec. 19th, 1805, containing several important particulars : namely,

First, A representation by Dr. Adams to the General Court, “ that the small-pox had been more epidemic  
“ and fatal throughout the metropolis than at any pe-  
“ riod since 1796 ; that the universal extension of vac-  
“ cination might, under Divine Providence, have pre-  
“ vented this calamity ; and that it is much to be re-  
“ gretted that any prejudices should have been excited  
“ against *this invaluable discovery*, which prejudices  
“ will, however, gradually subside.”

Secondly, That the extent and fatality of the epidemic were greatly diminished by the small-pox inoculation,  
“ *though in a much less degree than vaccination would*  
“ *have done* ; that, whilst the epidemic continues,”  
[does it continue now ?] “ and the present ill-founded  
“ objections against vaccination remain,” [have not the  
College and Dr. Adams answered all those objections ?]  
“ it would be highly improper to *entirely discontinue the*  
“ *practice of inoculation, though a due preference has*  
“ *always been given to the former.*”

I would now ask—if the public exhibition of the printed resolutions of February 4th, 1808, and sticking them upon the walls of the great room at the Hospital, where the patients assemble daily, be a proper method of removing “ ill-founded objections against vaccina-  
“ tion,” and a proof that the Physician “ regrets the  
“ prejudices excited against this invaluable discovery ?”  
Sir, I am very much concerned that these steps should have been resorted to in the year 1808, as if it were desired to rivet those prejudices and confirm those objections !

Thirdly, In the Report of 1805, I further observe, that the Governors came to several resolutions “ in order  
“ to lessen as much as possible the extent and fatality of

“ the small-pox;” at which time they said, “ it appears by the register that the numbers vaccinated at the Hospital within the last twelve months have nearly equalled those who have been inoculated, and that the aggregate has been *considerably greater than at any former period of the same extent.*”

I likewise find, Sir, it was resolved “ that vaccination will be given to all persons who apply at the Inoculation Hospital, daily from ten to twelve o’clock in the forenoon, Sundays excepted:” and, as “ the principles of its foundation were, not only to relieve the actual sufferer under the danger and distress of so fatal a disease, but also to preserve the indigent as far as possible from the terrors of its invasion,—for these purposes the Committee of this Charity were amongst the first enquirers into the advantages of vaccination; and it is with grateful pleasure they have been enabled to state, *that the most numerous, decisive, and satisfactory trials of that invaluable discovery were first made at the Inoculation Hospital. Their constant success has confirmed all that was promised by it, and their vast accumulation of evidence, gave the earliest confidence to the public of its permanent security.*”—As the aggregate number was considerably greater in 1805 than in any former period, I will mention the comparative proportion of vaccinated and variolated patients, as given (after Dr. Woodville’s death) by Mr. Wachsel, the Apothecary, Jan. 2nd, 1806:

In-Patients	50 vaccinated.
. . . . .	300 inoculated.
Out-Patients	2046 vaccinated.
. . . . .	2338 inoculated.

You will now, Sir, remark the striking difference be-

tween the practice in 1805 and 1807 : during the former period, which was unparalleled in its extent, 2338 OUT-PATIENTS were inoculated for the small-pox, but in the last year 4246, leaving a majority against vaccination of 1908 ; and during the year 1805 there were 2046 vaccinated as OUT-PATIENTS, but last year only 1577, affording a difference of 469. How is this sudden reverse to be accounted for ? Was it owing to any change in the will of the Governors, or of the medical officers, or of the patients ? May it not possibly be in consequence of a new physician being appointed, who entertains novel theories and antipathies ? although he “ is placed in a “ station where he *can* render so much service to the “ cause” of vaccination.\* It is certainly possible, that an ingenious physician at the HEAD of such an Hospital may, if he chooses, give the business a turn quite different from that which his predecessor approved ! To decide this matter, I must examine the “ ADVICE” given by Dr. Adams on the 4th of February 1808 ; when a reference was made to the Committee by a General Court—“ Whether it might be proper to make “ any alteration in the admission of *out-patients* for var-  
“ iolous inoculation ?”

On such a reference being made to a Committee, at which the opinion of the superior medical officer might be considered absolutely definitive, how easy would it have been for Dr. Adams to acquiesce in the *apparent* wishes of the General Court ! Unless a desire for some

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\* On the election of Dr. Adams, the Editors of the Medical and Physical Journal, for June 1805, used this language : “ We “ rejoice that a person so well qualified for the situation, and one “ who has always been so zealous a promoter of vaccination, is “ placed in a station where he *can* render so much service to the “ cause.”— *But, in 1806, only 945 out-patients were vaccinated !*



“alteration” in the variolous practice among “out-patients” had really prevailed among the Governors, they would never have made any reference upon the subject: and, Dr. Adams could not have been at a loss to conjecture what kind of an “alteration” was desired by the General Court! Had Dr. Woodville been then living, and presiding over the medical department of that Hospital, would he not immediately and cheerfully have concurred in their benevolent suggestions? Would he not have exerted his most strenuous endeavours to lessen the ravages of a fatal pestilence, by entirely repressing or discontinuing the practice of variolous inoculation among the “out-patients,” and by substituting in its stead the benign Jennerian practice? When Dr. Woodville was physician of that Hospital, we know that he spared no pains to supersede the variolation of “out-patients” by substituting the vaccine inoculation; as will appear further, from the following extracts of the Hospital Reports in December 1802, and June 1803:

“Your Committee, in addition to what they stated in their last Report, desire to recal to your attention *the increased public BENEFIT* of this Institution, since the introduction of vaccine inoculation has been added to the former branches of its practice. It began in this Hospital, under the direction of Dr. Woodville, the 21st of January 1799; and from that period to the 1st of December instant, 11,800 patients and upwards have been vaccinated, of which number about 2500 were afterwards proved to be secure from the *natural small-pox*, by receiving a further inoculation according to the former practice, which took no effect; a number amply sufficient to satisfy the public mind of the security and success of the new practice of vaccination. And your Committee add, that they

“ have not heard of any complaint from any one of  
“ those who were not inoculated a second time, of their  
“ having since taken the natural small-pox ; although  
“ they were chiefly indigent persons, and the far greater  
“ number of them living in places where the air is very  
“ confined, and particularly where it has been since  
“ ascertained that the natural small-pox was prevalent  
“ amongst those with whom many of them necessarily  
“ had continual intercourse.

“ The success of vaccination has very rapidly in-  
“ creased during the current year. From the first of  
“ January to the first of December 1802, of 375 patients  
“ admitted into the Inoculation Hospital, only 49 were  
“ inoculated according to the former practice ; *and of*  
“ *4005 out-patients, only 39 were inoculated according*  
“ *to the former practice* ; whereby it appears that the  
“ relief of the Institution has been afforded to 4378  
“ patients by inoculation, of whom 88 have been inocu-  
“ lated according to the former practice. *The blessing*  
“ *of Vaccination has been extended to 4290 persons in*  
“ *eleven months in this Hospital.* This very extensive  
“ practice has enlarged the sphere of the Institution,  
“ rendered it more beneficial to the poor, and increased  
“ its claim upon the public liberality.”

The Hospital Report of June 16th, 1803, contains the following important observations :

“ During the past year only 88 persons have been  
“ inoculated for the small-pox, of which number 39  
“ were out-patients ; and as only *ten* persons have re-  
“ ceived the variolous inoculation since January last,  
“ *this practice at the Hospital may be considered as*  
“ *generally superseded by the substitution of the vaccine*  
“ *inoculation.* From the 21st of January 1799 to the

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" 1st of January 1802, the patients received into the	
" Hospital were . . . . .	1580
" Out-patients . . . . .	5912
" During the year 1802, In-patients . . . .	337
" . . . . . Out-patients . . . .	3990
" From the 1st of January to the 15th of	
June 1803, . . . . . In-patients . . . .	70
" . . . . . Out-patients . . . .	1826
	<hr/>
	13,715

" *Of this large number, there has not been any instance*

" *in which the (vaccine) inoculation proved unsuccessful.*

" The Committee desire to repeat what they stated in a

" former Report, that 2500 were, after their recovery,

" found to be secure from the natural small-pox, by

" receiving the variolous inoculation, without any effect.

" The benefits of this Institution, in its respective

" branches, are not confined to the metropolis or its vici-

" nity; for it has always received patients from con-

" siderable distances—and also applications are con-

" tinually made to it from various parts of the United

" Kingdom, from America and the West Indies, and

" from the British settlements in the East Indies,

" for correct information of the practice and mode of

" treatment, and for SUPPLIES OF MATTER for inocu-

" lation, which have been always readily furnished.

" *The Committee rejoice in being enabled to witness*

" *the above numerous instances of its utility, and they*

" *invite the continuance of the public support*" [observe

this remark] " *as long only as the poor shall need its*

" *refuge and protection.*" This account was published

by the General Court, and signed by the Secretary.

Now, Sir, if such a very decided preference was given  
to vaccination by the Governors of the Small-pox Hos-

pital in 1803, and if the former Physician to that Institution inoculated *only thirty-nine patients* out of so large a number as four thousand and five ; how comes it to pass, after the solemn sanction of all the Colleges of Physicians and Surgeons in the kingdom, and after Dr. Adams himself, in three late publications, had defended the new practice, that *considerably more than four thousand out-patients* should have been inoculated for the small-pox in 1807, to be dispersed about the metropolis and its vicinity ? We know that, during the next year after the above decrease of variolous inoculations at the Small-pox Hospital, no more than six hundred and twenty-two deaths were recorded in the London bills of mortality ! and we also know, that the alarming and fatal effects of liberally diffusing the variolous plague since 1804, have been most severely felt by the public. How, let me again enquire, has this sad reverse arisen in the management of the inoculations ? It cannot be from any change in the sentiments of the benevolent Governors of that Hospital, who only desire to lessen the effects of small-pox contagion among their unprotected fellow-subjects. They, who were so gladdened by the Report of Dr. Woodville (‘‘ that the blessing of vaccination had been extended to 4290 persons ‘‘ in eleven months’’) would now rejoice to encourage this practice exclusively ! Then, my dear Sir, why should a new officer be permitted to control the will of the Governors ? Why should his advice counteract the efforts of their former Physician to chain that hydra of the infernal regions, the small-pox ? Why should he still be allowed to keep open an inexhaustible fountain of misery and death, for the supply of human slaughterers (as they may almost be called) who send for the deadly poison from the remotest corners of the globe ! If the



pestiferous fluid were not disposed of at this central depository, the supply might at last nearly fail ; and, by degrees, vaccination might be preferred even on the principle of convenience ! But, Dr. Adams has “ *advised* “ *the continuance of small-pox inoculation among out-* “ *patients—for the following reasons :*

“ *First, Because to refuse small-pox inoculation to* “ *those children whose parents are not reconciled to* “ *vaccination would be a certain sacrifice of one tenth* “ *part, and the maiming and blinding many more, be-* “ *sides encreasing the contagion by numbers who would* “ *pass through the disease severely or die under it.*”

To this “ *reason*” I answer ; that it is probable the absolute refusal of inoculation by the Physician of such an hospital would influence minor practitioners, so as to lessen the number of those who communicate the small-pox, and would moreover operate in favour of vaccination by augmenting the difficulty to parents who were prejudiced against it. The experiment was tried by Dr. Woodville,—and it was not found that persons have sacrificed their children by exposing them to the casual small-pox. Besides, if there be a great facility of obtaining variolous inoculation, the patients and their friends who go to the Hospital conclude, very fairly, that the Governors themselves prefer it to vaccination ; and if the medical officers are either silent, or do not strongly recommend the new practice, it cannot be supposed the unenlightened poor will give it a trial.

The arrangements of Dr. Adams and Mr. Wachsel at present, are understood to be calculated for rendering vaccination either difficult or abortive ; so that professional men do not now, as they did formerly, consider the Hospital “ *a cow-pox station,*” but the only small-pox station where those who wish for this disease will

never be disappointed of obtaining it. But, when Dr. Adams pretends to avoid "encreasing the contagion" by encouraging *four or five thousand* "out-patients" to be annually inoculated, he only mocks the feelings and common sense of mankind : for one "out-patient" exposed in the streets of London, may do more towards diffusing this terrible contagion, than all the in-patients he admits during a whole year !

"*Secondly*, Because the proper means of reconciling "the public to vaccination, is by leaving them to see "its advantages, and not by forcing it upon them." They who dislike vaccination, from prejudice and false rumours too readily entertained, are not likely to see very clearly on this subject, and may be unable to "see "its advantages" without the aid of examples and precepts. Dr. Adams knows that the common people, who attend the Hospital, are not judges of this affair, and cannot be expected to decide properly for themselves. If they see multitudes of small-pox patients in the great room where they assemble, perhaps with a slight doubt on their minds, in order to be vaccinated, will they not conclude that the small-pox is best ? or at least, that this disease is much more likely to take effect in such a room than the cow-pox ? And, when they behold Dr. Adams's "REASONS" stuck up on the different sides of the room where they attend, declaring that "the "cow-pox has not proved a sufficient security," it is hardly to be expected they can resist such authentic evidence, in favour of variolous inoculation !

But the Doctor is not for "forcing it upon them : "no, nor do I think this would be desirable or prudent ; and yet "SINCE THE INVALUABLE JENNERIAN DIS- "COVERY" (now sanctioned by the highest political and medical authorities), "THERE CAN BE NO OB-

“ JECTION TO CERTAIN LEGAL RESTRAINTS ON INOCULATION FOR THE SMALL-POX.” So said Dr. Adams on the 20th of August 1805, in the Medical and Physical Journal, vol. xiv. page 197; at which period his antipathy to the maxims suggested by the friends of vaccination had not encreased (as I am told) quite to its present height. I am glad, however, to find that so great a friend of liberty, in answering Mr. Travers, another staunch friend of liberty, can admit there is “ no objection to legal restraints on inoculation.” I trust those “ restraints,” if there be any enacted, will affect all practitioners who continue the inoculation of “ out-patients” in this metropolis, or who inoculate without a licence to kill! For, certainly, unless some “ legal” restriction be imposed either on the patient or the practitioner, we can entertain no hope of greatly repressing the ravages of the small-pox. The Doctor admits that, although there are many “ difficulties to be “ encountered” before the public can be guarded against the insidious attacks of so fatal a contagion, “ *there are* “ *NONE but what may be overcome, and ought to be attempted.*” He has even acknowledged to me, “ that “ all the hackney coaches in London are probably infected, by carrying small-pox patients;” and therefore, it is very clearly requisite to adopt some legislative means of preventing the extension and perpetuity of this disease, whether by such necessary receptacles of deadly poison, or by the open exposure of more disgusting vehicles of living corruption!

Since the foregoing pages were sent to the printer's, I have purchased a new Tract on Vaccination by Dr. Adams, being the *fourth* work in its favour which has issued from the same quarter: and it really surprises me to find that, while this Physician is recommending your

practice by these different publications, he continues to act as if the contagion of small-pox might be voluntarily diffused through the kingdom, without attaching any blame on inoculators ! This pamphlet, just printed for the benefit of his Hospital, tells us, “ The people in  
“ England, and particularly in London, are at this time  
“ (March 1808) scarcely sensible how dreadful a disease the small-pox is, and how general its ravages are !  
“ It must be admitted that the small-pox *may be spread*  
“ *by inoculation, as well as by other means.* It therefore becomes all, before they have recourse to such a  
“ mode of securing themselves, to enquire whether  
“ they are likely to injure their neighbours, and at least  
“ give them notice that they may secure themselves or  
“ children.”—They should, perhaps, warn their prejudiced neighbours to flee from their houses ; for, in London, where twenty or thirty poor people lodge in one habitation, there is no other secure way of acting, when an inmate is inoculated, or catches the disease ! But, the author adds, “ All these difficulties may be escaped  
“ by that improvement which Dr. Jenner has introduced, in substituting the cow-pox for the small-pox.  
“ *There is indeed great reason to believe, both from the*  
“ *mildness of the inoculated small-pox under certain*  
“ *forms, and also from the occasional appearance of a*  
“ *general eruption of cow-pox, THAT THE TWO*  
“ *DISEASES ARE THE SAME.*”—So then, four or five thousand out-patients attending annually at the Small-pox Hospital, covered more or less with a contagious eruption, will do no greater harm to their unprotected neighbours than as many thousands who are vaccinated ! because Dr. Adams has discovered, “ that the  
“ two diseases are the same.” May not such an inference, however false and absurd, be drawn by the



common people, who frequent the inoculating station where this pamphlet is sold for one shilling? The practical inference which others might draw from this supposed identity of the two diseases, would at least be to the disparagement of your discovery, and exceedingly in favour of the *Author's* variolous inoculation!

I proceed to consider the next "Reason" assigned by that Physician for "advising the continuance of small-pox inoculation among *out-patients*."

"*Thirdly*, Because there are some families in which "cow-pox has not proved a sufficient security." But, are there not also some families in which the small-pox inoculation has proved an insufficient security? Have no persons had the small-pox twice? And, are not the proportional numbers in both cases nearly equal? How then can this "Reason" be considered of any weight, in support of the Doctor's advice? I will not here bring forward the opinions of ignorant, or of inexperienced practitioners; nor shall I need to strengthen my argument by the Report of the College of Physicians: but I will answer this gentleman, by adducing the words of an author whose judgment he will never depreciate, and whose authority must be absolutely conclusive—I mean, Sir, the present Physician of the Small-pox Hospital, Dr. Adams himself!

In the Medical and Physical Journal, for September 1805, he writes thus: "The occasional occurrence of "small-pox after cow-pox, has brought forward a number of *second* attacks of small-pox, which, though "well authenticated, might otherwise have been concealed or left unrecorded. This, of course, has taught "the public to expect still more.—It is truly surprising "that men who are daily witnessing the various deviations from the usual course of nature in organic

“ structure, in the common actions of health and dis-  
 “ ease, should refuse their assent to facts so well  
 “ established, and so much within the line of proba-  
 “ bility. I know it has been said, that these accounts  
 “ of second small-pox have never been mentioned till  
 “ the occurrence of the disease after vaccination; but  
 “ this is so far from the truth, that Diemerbroeck, who  
 “ wrote in the middle of the seventeenth century, very  
 “ circumstantially relates the history of four persons,  
 “ (brothers and sisters,) who had all of them the small-  
 “ pox severely a second time. In this account he could  
 “ not well be mistaken, as the family were inmates of  
 “ his own house. His words are, ‘ *Nam erant nostri*  
 “ *domestici, in quos singulis fere horis oculi converte-*  
 “ *bantur.*’ His son, in his annotations on the cases;  
 “ speaks of them as rare instances, but without ex-  
 “ pressing the smallest doubt of their reality.

“ Forestus, who wrote much earlier, admits the pos-  
 “ sibility of a second occurrence. However, instances  
 “ in our own days are more to the purpose, because we  
 “ have it in our power to examine their validity. These  
 “ are now become numerous and well-authenticated.

“ This digression has led me from the subject I began  
 “ with. Since the late alarms concerning small-pox  
 “ after vaccination, we have had applications of all  
 “ kinds: some to be inoculated, who had been vacci-  
 “ nated. All these have stood the test without a single  
 “ exception. Others with suspicious eruptions; but  
 “ none of them have been added to the catalogue of un-  
 “ successful vaccination: and I cannot help thinking;  
 “ when we reflect on the numbers vaccinated, that *the*  
 “ *very few instances of consequent small-pox* are not, if  
 “ fairly estimated, greater than would have occurred after  
 “ the same number of casual or inoculated small-pox.”

Another paper of Dr. Adams, in the Medical and Physical Journal for September 1806, p. 248, contains this sentiment: "From the moment I was thought  
 " worthy of the office of Physician to the Small-pox  
 " Hospital, no industry on my part has been wanting  
 " in the examination of that invaluable prophylactic  
 " which we owe to Dr. Jenner, and also of a disease"  
 (the small-pox) "*which, I trust, will hereafter only be*  
 " *known in books.*"

As the objection raised against the cow-pox, that it  
 " *has not proved a sufficient security,*" is by far the  
 strongest and most specious of any,—I mean, it has the  
 firmest hold on ignorant people, and is supported by  
 very plausible statements,—I shall adduce some further  
 replies to this objection, from the same unquestionable  
 authority. Dr. Adams says,\* "the best and ablest men  
 " now and then fall into what appears an absurdity,"  
 and, "when improperly opposed, they are too apt to  
 " think that their only business is to defend themselves  
 " at all events." Whether or not the Doctor has been  
 reduced to such a dilemma, I cannot determine; but I  
 really think he defends himself against the attacks of  
 vaccinators in a most extraordinary way, so as to have  
 fallen into what appears *very like* an absurdity. He  
 advises the multiplication and dissemination of the va-  
 riolous poison; or, in other words, he very humanely  
 advises the small-pox inoculation at St. Pancras Hos-

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\* "Answers to *all* the Objections hitherto made against Cow-  
 " pox," page 14, third edition, London, 1805, by JOSEPH  
 ADAMS, M.D. &c. To avoid prolixity, I omit other answers  
 from his "Popular View," and "Morbid Poisons," since pub-  
 lished. But, the author himself has actually replied "to all the  
 objections"—and especially to this, of the cow-pox not being a  
 sufficient security!

pital among thousands of “*out-patients*,” because your preservative against its direful effects “*has not proved a sufficient security !*” Is not this absurd, and unmerciful? The absurdity consists in this; that, while a physician saves 4000 lives by inoculation for the small-pox, he is the remote instrument of destruction to at least 2000 others, who take this disease by casual infection: for, if the 4000 inoculated subjects communicate this disorder to 12,000 more, and one in six die of the natural small-pox; then, the inoculator will have killed 2000 by his merciful regard to the 4000, all of whom might likewise have been saved by vaccination. This is kindness and philanthropy with a witness! As it respects the 4000, it is certainly humane; but they might have been as well preserved, by means which could not destroy or injure *one* of their neighbours! If Dr. Adams should say, “we have no proof that every inoculated subject gives the disease to *three* others”—I will tell him there is evidence of *one person* having caused the death of several *millions* in South America; and we frequently have proof of thousands being so destroyed in Europe! (See Woodville’s History of Inoculation, p. 27.)

But he has replied to this difficulty long ago; and given an “Answer to all the Objections hitherto made against Cow-pox,” in a separate pamphlet, of which the third edition now lies before me! “For,” says he, “if we were to admit that some instances have occurred of small-pox after cow-pox, I shall show that THIS IS REALLY NO OBJECTION AGAINST THE PRACTICE.

“There are three ways in which this may happen:

“First, By an imperfect vaccination.

“Secondly, By the constitution being under the influence of some other disease at the time of vaccination.



“ And lastly, By the person being liable to the small-pox twice.”

After giving his opinion more at large, he adds, “ Thus you see, as small-pox is expected sometimes to occur twice, there is no wonder if it has also appeared after cow-pox ;” and because “ some say, this was never thought of till the cow-pox made its appearance,” he quotes a book of his own, on Morbid Poisons, published first in 1795. The author subjoins an account of some children having received the small-pox imperfectly, and of a gentleman having mistaken that disease, “ which he must have known all his lifetime ;” and adds, it is therefore “ no wonder if in the beginning of vaccination some errors should have been committed. *None of the cases, however, vaccinated by Dr. Jenner have failed, numerous as they certainly must be ;* and this is the less remarkable, because, from his longer acquaintance with the subject, he was not likely to mistake the appearance.” — “ The histories of persons who have had the small-pox after inoculation for that disease are so numerous, that I doubt not most of them rest upon much the same authority as those which are reported after vaccination. However, among the number some are well founded in both ; and *probably about the same proportion.*”

He then recites a case of natural small-pox, very full, occurring twelve months after the confluent disease, produced by inoculation, before the year 1737 ; and which Dr. Woodville admits, “ was never contradicted.” He also details another still more remarkable case of second small-pox, which killed the patient in 1775 ;\* to

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\*. See the original account in the Medical Society's Memoirs, vol. iv. and a copy of it from pp. 27 to 31 of the present Letter.

which he annexes this remark : “ Though we are apt to  
“ be surprised at these events, yet in reality they are not  
“ more remarkable than a white negro, or a cow with  
“ two heads, which every body has seen or heard of.  
“ But, a man with the small-pox a second time is not  
“ shown at Bartholomew Fair ; therefore, few people  
“ know any thing about the matter.” Dr. Adams re-  
lates three more cases of second small-pox, in an Appen-  
dix ; the first, of the Earl of Westmeath’s child, com-  
municated by his Lordship to yourself ; the second of Miss  
Price, niece to Mr. Whitebrook, in Greek Street ; and  
the third, of Mrs. Probert, at the Fever Institution,  
Gray’s Inn Lane ; all which, being “ recent cases, or  
“ the parties well known, any one may satisfy himself of  
“ the particulars.”

If the present Physician of the Small-pox Hospital  
had not opposed the benevolent wish of the Governors,  
to adopt some mode of preventing the horrid conse-  
quences of sending infected “ OUT-PATIENTS” to every  
street of this vast metropolis, and to all the populous  
villages around London ; and if he had not urged, as  
one of the “ REASONS” for his advice, this hackneyed  
slander about the insufficiency of the cow-pox to secure  
those who are properly vaccinated, I should not have  
deemed it necessary to examine his own repeated de-  
fences of vaccination, for an answer to such an unreason-  
able objection. But, my dear Sir, the public welfare  
demands a plain and firm reply to “ Reasons” coming  
from so unexpected a quarter ; and I dare not compro-  
mise the interests of mankind, especially where life is  
concerned, out of respect to the opinions or feelings of an  
individual. I shall therefore go on to discharge my  
duty, as a medical man, fearless of personal conse-  
quences to myself, and knowing that the seriousness of

the occasion will justify me in doing so. The next argument I shall advance, in reply to his third Reason for continuing inoculation, is derived from a printed circular Statement of the Governors, exhibiting a summary of the practice at that Hospital down to the close of 1806; in which are the following passages :

“ The Governors, ever attentive to the designs of this  
 “ Institution, and having indubitable evidence that  
 “ *vaccination* was unattended with infection or danger,  
 “ were early in proving the *security* it afforded against  
 “ the small-pox ; and in adopting a discovery so con-  
 “ genial with their plan, and so calculated, as far as  
 “ possible, *to perfect the intention of the first founders*  
 “ *of those Hospitals.*” They further state, that (accord-  
 ing to their own registers) “ not more than one patient  
 “ in a thousand dies of the inoculated small-pox ; while  
 “ of those who receive this disease casually, the morta-  
 “ lity is about the proportion of ONE IN SIX.” \*

And finally, they give the number of patients from the first establishment of this Charity, September 26th, 1746, to the end of 1805, viz.

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\* It is wholly impossible for the Governors to know how many die of the OUT-PATIENTS, because great numbers do not go to the Institution after inoculation, and are heard of no more. In Dr. Adams's last pamphlet, we are told that *nineteen out of sixty-four*, on whom he was making experiments to prove the identity of small-pox and cow-pox, “ did not attend with sufficient regularity to ascertain the progress of the arm, or the inoculation failed, and was repeated from other sources.” Besides which, the public has *lately* read accounts of well-authenticated *deaths* and other disasters, happening to the OUT-PATIENTS of that Institution ; not to mention, that the fatal effects of subsequent infections, communicated by them to other persons, are too numerous to be forgotten !



Natural Small pox . . 21,529 .

Variolous Inoculations 41,581

Vaccine Inoculations . . 20,324

It is added, that “ the greatest number of these vaccinated patients were infants and children, of whom none died; and 2650 of them have been since inoculated for the small-pox, which took no effect.”—But it is worthy of remark, Sir, that only 967 applicants (which includes 22 in-patients) were vaccinated during the year 1806; whereas, 2565 were inoculated for the small-pox!!! You will, therefore, observe the great falling off in vaccination, and the vast increase in variolation since Dr. Woodville’s practice: for, in his time, there were 11,800 persons vaccinated between the 21st of January 1799 and the close of 1801; and of 4005 out-patients, who applied at the Hospital in eleven months during 1802, *only thirty-nine* were inoculated for the small-pox; again, *but ten* received variolous inoculation out of 1826 applicants, from January to June 1803, at which period the Governors (in their Report of June 16th) said, “ this practice at the Hospital “ may be considered as *generally superseded* by the substitution of the vaccine inoculation”—whereupon it was added, “ they invite the continuance of the public support as long *only* as the poor shall need its refuge and protection.”

Now, Sir, I would ask, if the poor do really “ need its refuge,” except when they have casually received the small-pox? I would ask, if they actually “ need its protection,” unless it be administered in such a way as to guard them against this disease?

Can it be pleaded, as a motive for “ the continuance of the public support,” that this Hospital has returned to its “ former practice of inoculation” with



redoubled vigour, and with ten-fold more lamentable consequences? Will not the beneficent Governors, at their approaching anniversary festival, have great occasion to unite in weeping and wailing at the late efforts made by their Physician and Apothecary to spread the most destructive contagion which ever afflicted mankind? Humanity shudders to think of FOUR THOUSAND FIVE HUNDRED AND NINETY-FOUR PERSONS INOCULATED AT THE SMALL-POX HOSPITAL IN 1807, a number so very far beyond that of any other year since its establishment! Are we still doomed to witness this noisome box of Pandora, with its pestiferous and deadly contents, poured out upon us year after year; when the Governors themselves have almost acknowledged its inutility? They said, in their Report of 1803, and with great reason too, "UNTIL THE VACCINE INOCULATION SHALL BE ADOPTED UNIVERSALLY, THE EXTINCTION OF THE SMALL-POX CANNOT BE EFFECTED: IT IS, THEREFORE, OF THE MOST SERIOUS IMPORTANCE TO THE INDUSTRIOUS POOR, THAT THIS BRANCH OF THEIR INSTITUTION SHOULD BE SUPPORTED." But, how is "this branch" of the medical practice now supported and conducted? Is it not grossly mismanaged, and even nearly subverted?

The last "Reason" assigned by Dr. Adams for persisting in the variolous inoculation of "out-patients," is, "because vaccination is given at the Inoculation Hospital to all persons who will receive it."—What, Sir! does he inoculate for the small-pox, because the ignorant parents of children desire it? Would Dr. Adams administer poison to them for such a reason? Does he hazard the lives of these innocents, because their natural guardians are unable to judge which of the two species of inoculation is safest? Would he advise us to risk set-

ting London in flames, because a few misinformed persons chose to burn down their own houses, under an idea of the plague being within doors? Is it proper to rescue any man's child from peril, at the hazard of greatly endangering a whole city? and especially, when that peril may certainly be avoided without bringing one individual into jeopardy? Can it ever be granted, that a medical gentleman has a right to spread contagion with one hand, because he checks it with the other? This would be establishing a new moral axiom, a new species of rectitude; which is, as if a person should claim a right to kill ten of his neighbours, because he had saved one! "Because vaccination is given at the Hospital," therefore the baneful small-pox may be likewise administered! Because I do a little good, therefore I may do a great deal of harm! Is not this the kind of argument employed by Dr. Adams? He destroys with his right hand, because he saves with his left! If the Doctor had not very strenuously and repeatedly written in defence of vaccination, and even answered *all* objections to it, I could not have urged this inconsistency with the same force as I feel justifiable on the present occasion.

Dr. Adams knows that the small-pox is often very dangerous, though communicated by inoculation, and that he never can foresee when the hazard will be great. He has indeed told the world "that some families have " found the small-pox invariably severe and *often fatal* " among them, even with all the advantages of inoculation." He confesses that, in other cases where the patients escape death, " we may expect a deep slough, " or mortified part in the arm, which must be carefully " attended to." He acknowledges, that the occurrence of small-pox a second time is " not more rare than severe cases of small-pox after cow pox; and, were it

“ otherwise, the security from the disease in every form,  
 “ but one so slight as to be with difficulty ascertained,  
 “ would be sufficient to give a preference to a practice  
 “ *so universally mild as cow-pox.*” He admits, as a  
 general truth, that when the small-pox has happened  
 after vaccination, “ it has excited little or no alarm, and  
 “ produced but little inconveniencce.” Again, he says,  
 “ It is no small satisfaction to turn our attention to-  
 “ wards a discovery which promises to deliver us from  
 “ every doubt in a case which so often requires a prompt  
 “ decision. Such is the cow-pox: without sympto-  
 “ matic fever, without secondary eruptions, or without  
 “ danger from either, and also without danger to others,  
 “ we secure ourselves, our children, our friends. No  
 “ season need be preferred, no age is improper, and no  
 “ state of health has been found prohibitory.”

He allows, that whatever advantages may be conferred on individuals by variolous inoculation, “ they are  
 “ ALL secured with much more certainty by vacci-  
 “ nation :” besides which, he confesses that “ no one  
 “ should venture to the metropolis as long as he is  
 “ liable to the small-pox.” \* This being the case, how  
 can he conscientiously discourage the practice of vacci-  
 nation (not by his books, but by his actions), and daily  
 encourage the inoculated small-pox, at an Institution  
 where the Governors have long given a decided pre-  
 ference to the former? Sir, I am compelled to lay on  
 this gentleman the whole blame of so lamentable a  
 change as we have witnessed in the medical practice of  
 that Hospital, a change big with the most serious and  
 affecting consequences to the nation at large! While

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\* See “ A popular View of vaccine Inoculation,” pp. 80, 68,  
 101, 102, 90, 9, 72, 55.

such extraordinary conduct remained unnoticed, it was not likely for the Legislature to take any alarm; and it has therefore appeared to me a fit subject for public animadversion, in hopes that some effectual remedy would be speedily devised against so gigantic and so growing an evil!

But, Sir, there is an evil of another nature which I believe will always exist at the Inoculation Hospital, while any number of subjects, however large, are vaccinated there. I mean, that EVIL which you have so long and so often complained of—the inoculation of all persons *in one apartment, and at the same time*, whether for the small-pox or the cow-pox! This I have witnessed with surprise and regret: I have mentioned it to the medical officers as highly objectionable, but did not find either of them disposed to alter their plan. What an idea! Hundreds of persons attending there continually, some with a full burden of the small-pox eruption, others waiting to be variolated, and others to be vaccinated; all mixing together, in one room, upon the same forms, and without the slightest discrimination! Dr. Adams has told the readers of his “Popular View,” &c. p. 15, that “if at the same time the person inoculated is exposed to others under the disease, he may catch it in the *casual* way; and though the inoculated, like any other part on which the skin is punctured, may still show a higher degree of inflammation, yet, if this inflammation does not preceede the general eruption, the patient will derive no benefit from it”—but will be exposed to the extreme hazard which accompanies the natural small-pox! Then, Sir, is not this an evil of some importance? But, it is not nearly so serious a circumstance as when the patients attend there for vaccination; because the vaccine fluid is so mild as to fail in



the first attempt, much more readily and frequently than the small-pox matter. What then will follow, if vaccination does not, when a patient is inoculated with cow-pock matter? You must shudder to conceive how inevitably such unfortunate persons will catch the small-pox, and at the very asylum too which is opened for their security against this disease! The Governors should remember, THAT ABOUT ONE SIXTH PART OF ALL SUCH DISAPPOINTED AND INFECTED PATIENTS WILL INFALLIBLY DIE!

Dr. Adams and Mr. Wachsel cannot say I have here made out an aggravated case, or supposed circumstances which are unlikely to occur. My *data*, I presume, will not be controverted; and the only point of dispute is, whether such events have actually happened. I have not yet vaccinated 1000 subjects, but I have nevertheless frequently failed to produce the wished-for effect, on the first inoculation; and I have also seen others attempt to vaccinate, without immediately succeeding. I do not suppose the Physician and Apothecary of the Small-pox Hospital are proof against similar disappointments; and when they happen to fail, in a person who breathes a variolous atmosphere, perhaps sitting upon the bench with a small-pox patient on each side, they know how hazardous such exposure must be to the individual who meant to be either vaccinated or variolated. Dr. Woodville published many hundreds of cases, supposed by him to have been vaccinations, but which were actually cases of the small-pox! You, my dear Sir, will never forget what confusion and discredit were occasioned by these numerous accidents, when your practice was commencing in London. Whether or no the vaccine matter used at the Small-pox Hospital has been deteriorated, by the incongruous experiments and practices there, I

cannot be sure ; but I find no cases, theories, and opinions existing out of that Institution, similar to those which its former and present medical officers talk of, or have laid before the public !

I shall probably be told, “ that vaccination supersedes the natural small-pox, and therefore we may safely vaccinate in the wards or inoculating-room of an Hospital.”—I answer, that, in order to supersede the small-pox, vaccination must first take effect, and that this is not always the case in inoculating with vaccine virus : \* but, secondly, when it does take effect in a variolous atmosphere, it does not uniformly (though generally) anticipate and prevent the small-pox. Dr. Willan relates two instances of patients vaccinated under such circumstances “ having the confluent small-pox before the vaccine pustule arrived at its height. Other practitioners have been in like manner disappointed ; whose experience may therefore serve as a caution to their fellow-labourers not to make, unnecessarily, a similar trial in dubious situations.” † Dr. Willan advises, very properly, that “ the vaccine fluid should not be taken, for the purpose of inoculation, on a lancet which had been previously employed in inoculating the small-pox.” This caution has too seldom been observed at the Inoculation Hospital : and

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\* Even variolous matter will fail, especially if it be dry : Dr. Adams says (page 57, Popular View), “ If the matter is dry, it must be diluted : though this may not lessen its strength, it very much lessens the certainty of its success, because the solution is uncertain ; and if not accomplished, the effect on the arm may fail, whilst the effluvia may produce the casual disease.”

† Dr. Willan’s Reports on the Diseases in London, p. 315, 316. This Physician smiles at the theories of Dr. Adams !

it is very improbable that Dr. Adams's advice can be attended to in such a mixed kind of practice, on so very large a scale, namely, "If more than one person is inoculated, the lancets should be carefully washed after each: for, though there is no probability that the pure small-pox virus can be contaminated with any other poison, yet we cannot assert that the healthy juices of one individual may not prove deleterious to another." He refers to his book on "Morbid Poisons, page 50," for a proof on this subject.

March 16, 1808. I have just obtained a PRINTED copy of the Hospital Report for last year; to which are prefixed some general remarks and regulations (the same as those which appeared in 1806), shewing the prevalent wish of the Governors for the complete "*establishment*" of vaccination, and their full conviction of its being a "*security*" against the small-pox. By my reprinting part of this official document, you will perceive what is the present state of the Institution, and the ostensible "*design*" of the Subscribers, now consisting of above four hundred individuals!

" *Hospitals for the Small-pox and Inoculation, St. Pancras, Middlesex, instituted the 26th of September 1746.*

" *Small-pox Hospital.*

" It is universally agreed, that, of all distempers to which mankind is obnoxious, in these temperate regions, *none* has proved so afflicting to the sufferer, so alarming to others, or demands more immediate assistance than the natural small-pox; and its contagion is so much dreaded, that families of all descriptions, but more especially those of the industrious poor, are thrown into the utmost anxiety and distress when it

“ invades them. For removing these difficulties, and  
“ for rendering every possible relief in such cases, this  
“ Hospital is established, and has been supported with  
“ that liberality which has distinguished this age and  
“ country.

“ Moreover, this is an Hospital, in aid of all others,  
“ being calculated, by its very constitution, to receive  
“ those whom the rules of most other houses of charity  
“ expressly and prudentially exclude.

“ *Inoculation Hospital.*

“ The introduction of inoculation, by affording a com-  
“ paratively safer mode of passing through the disease,  
“ considerably alleviated the distress, and lessened the  
“ number of such as were under continual apprehen-  
“ sions; but this security has unfortunately diminished  
“ the caution of those who have most influence in so-  
“ ciety, by their admitting persons upon their first  
“ arrival from the country into their families without  
“ having previously passed through the small-pox. The  
“ register of this Hospital shews, that not more than  
“ one patient, in one thousand, dies of the inoculated  
“ small-pox; while of those who receive this disease  
“ casually, the mortality is about the proportion of one  
“ in six. Hence the Governors of this Institution, by  
“ whose bounty more than forty-six thousand persons  
“ have been inoculated, derive the satisfaction of having  
“ been instrumental in saving from an untimely grave  
“ —nearly a sixth part of this large number.

“ The Governors, ever attentive to *the designs of this*  
“ *Institution*, and having indubitable evidence that vac-  
“ cination was unattended with infection or danger,  
“ were early in proving *the security it afforded against*  
“ *the small-pox*, and in adopting a discovery so conge-  
“ nial with the plan; and so calculated, as far as pos-



“ sible, to perfect the intention of the first founders of  
 “ these Hospitals. It will be remembered that the ex-  
 “ periments made here, and the publication of their fa-  
 “ vourable result, gave the first confidence to the public  
 “ for its adoption : they have with great satisfaction  
 “ witnessed *the increasing advantages* which thereby  
 “ accrue to the poor, a return of which is subjoined ;  
 “ and they rely with confidence on the faithfulness of  
 “ their registers and reports for the full establishment of  
 “ this practice, which, notwithstanding any casual ill  
 “ success, must ultimately meet with deserved support.

“ This, with the other blessings which the Institution  
 “ has for more than sixty years been instrumental in  
 “ diffusing among the poorer classes of the people, com-  
 “ bine to offer irresistible testimonies of the wisdom  
 “ and humanity not only of its first founders, but also  
 “ of its present illustrious and beneficent patrons. The  
 “ liberal and humane, therefore, are earnestly solicited  
 “ to extend their bounty to the support and permanence  
 “ of an institution which reason, good policy, huma-  
 “ nity, and religion, so powerfully recommend.

“ *General Regulations.*

“ Every Governor is entitled to recommend one  
 “ patient to the house for inoculation every twenty-one  
 “ days, and to have one patient in the house for the na-  
 “ tural way at the same time. By this means he may  
 “ have seventeen patients inoculated in the year, and  
 “ nearly the same number admitted in the natural  
 “ way.

“ Every poor person, if five years old, or upwards,  
 “ labouring under the small-pox, or desirous of being  
 “ inoculated, is a proper object for admission into either  
 “ department of this Charity, having the recommenda-  
 “ tion of any Governor.

“ Children under five years of age are inoculated as  
 “ out-patients, provided they give proper attendance at  
 “ the Hospital.

“ The mothers or nurses of infants admitted for va-  
 “ riolous inoculation, are received into the Hospital on  
 “ contributing 1s. 6d. per day towards their own Board.

“ Patients with the small-pox are admitted, on any  
 “ Governor’s recommendation, every day at any hour.

“ Patients for inoculation are received in like man-  
 “ ner every morning, from nine till eleven o’clock,  
 “ Sundays excepted.

“ Friends of the patients are admitted to visit on  
 “ Tuesdays and Fridays, from twelve o’clock till one  
 “ o’clock.

“ *Natural Small-pox.*

“ Patients from the 26th September		
“ 1746, to the 1st of January 1807, . . .	21,529	
“ During the year 1807, . . . . .	170	
“ Out-patients, being children under		207
“ five years of age, . . . . .	37	
		<hr/>

“ *Variolous Inoculation.* 21,736

“ Patients from the 26th September	
“ 1746, to the 1st January 1807, . . .	41,581
“ During the year 1807,	
“ In-patients 348, Out-patients 4246,	
“ all Infants under 5 years of age, and	
“ chiefly in arms, of whom five died, 4,594	
	<hr/> 46,175

“ *Vaccine Inoculation, begun 21st January 1799.*

“ From 21st January 1799, to 1st of	
“ January 1807, . . . . .	20,324
“ During the year 1807,	
“ In-patients 44, Out-patients 1577, . . .	1,621
	<hr/> 21,945
“ Total	89,856

“ The greatest number of these 21,945 vaccinated patients were infants and children under five years of age ; 2680 of whom have since been inoculated for the small-pox, *which took no effect.*”

Allow me next, Sir, to make some remarks on this very interesting statement, which I think of much more importance to the political world than any document issued from a public hospital since your invaluable discovery has been known ! Especially, I shall notice an apparent departure from the original intention of that Establishment, as far as I can ascertain it from Dr. Woodville's History of Inoculation in Great Britain, 8vo. 1796. The above Report of the Governors states, that forty-six thousand one hundred and seventy-five persons have been inoculated since the 26th of September 1746 ; of which number, the astonishing proportion of four thousand five hundred and ninety-four, was added in the last year, 1807, after the solemn and unequivocal sanction given to vaccination, not in this kingdom only, but throughout the civilized world ! A considerable number of individuals were likewise attended in the casual small-pox, as out-patients, who of course visited the Physician at the Hospital several times a week ! Now, Sir, call to mind the words of the Royal College, in answer to His Majesty's gracious enquiry respecting “ the state of vaccine inoculation, and the “ causes which have retarded its general adoption.” The College of Physicians conceive, that its general adoption has been chiefly retarded by the extreme disregard of the lower orders of people to their true interests :

“ The lower orders of society can hardly be induced  
 “ to adopt precautions against evils which may be at a  
 “ distance ; nor can it be expected from them, if these  
 “ precautions are attended with expense. Unless there-

“ fore, from the immediate dread of epidemic small-  
 “ pox, neither vaccination nor inoculation appear at any  
 “ time to have been general; and when the cause of  
 “ terror has passed by, the Public have relapsed again  
 “ into a state of indifference and apathy, and the salu-  
 “ tary practice has come to a stand. It is not easy to  
 “ suggest a remedy for an evil so deeply imprinted in  
 “ human nature. *To inform and instruct* the public  
 “ mind may do much, and it will probably be found  
 “ that the progress of vaccination in different parts of  
 “ the United Kingdom will be in proportion to that in-  
 “ struction. Were encouragement given to vaccina-  
 “ tion, by offering it to the poorer classes without ex-  
 “ pense, there is little doubt that it would in time su-  
 “ persede the inoculation for the small-pox, and there-  
 “ by various sources of infection would be cut off: but,  
 “ till vaccination becomes GENERAL, it will be im-  
 “ possible to prevent the constant recurrence of the na-  
 “ tural small-pox, by means of those who are inocu-  
 “ lated; *except it should appear proper to the Legisla-*  
 “ *ture to adopt, in its wisdom, some measure by which*  
 “ *those who still, from terror or prejudice, prefer the*  
 “ *small-pox to the vaccine disease, may, in thus conslt-*  
 “ *ing the gratification of their own feelings, be prevented*  
 “ *from doing mischief to their neighbours.”*

But, Sir, the College, in very forcible language, takes notice of the practice now so much encouraged, and so highly to be deprecated, of sending OUT-PATIENTS to and from inoculating stations, even when covered with variolous eruptions; a practice which the Society for bettering the Condition of the Poor has recently observed, as more common “ than at any former period.” The College says, “ It is from a consideration of the “ pernicious effects of the small-pox, that the real value



“ of vaccination is to be estimated. The natural small-  
 “ pox has been supposed to destroy a sixth part of all  
 “ whom it attacks; and that, even by inoculation,  
 “ where this has been general in parishes and towns,  
 “ about one in three hundred has usually died. It is  
 “ not sufficiently known, or not adverted to, that nearly  
 “ one tenth, some years more than one tenth of the  
 “ whole mortality in London, is occasioned by the  
 “ small-pox; and however beneficial the inoculation of  
 “ the small-pox may have been to individuals, it appears  
 “ to have kept up a constant source of contagion, which  
 “ has been the means of encreasing the number of  
 “ deaths by what is called the natural disease. *It cannot*  
 “ *be doubted that this mischief has been extended by the*  
 “ *inconsiderate manner in which great numbers of per-*  
 “ *sons, even since the introduction of vaccination, are*  
 “ *still every year inoculated with the small-pox, and*  
 “ *afterwards required to attend two or three times a*  
 “ *week at the places of inoculation, through every stage*  
 “ *of their illness.* From this, then, the Public are to  
 “ expect the great and uncontrovertible superiority of  
 “ vaccination, that it communicates no casual infec-  
 “ tion, and while it is a protection to the individual, it  
 “ is not prejudicial to the Public.”

From this striking view of the extensive mischief at-  
 tendant on the inoculation of out-patients, you will not  
 be surprised that the Governors of the Small-pox Hos-  
 pital, in their Report of March 19th, 1805, and in  
 another Report formerly quoted, say, “ It is of the most  
 “ serious importance to the industrious poor, that this  
 “ branch of the institution” (viz. the vaccinating de-  
 partment) “ should be supported.” They even add,  
 that the “ unsuccessful cases” recently alleged against  
 vaccination, “ bear no comparison with the number of

“ similar occurrences which have hitherto attended the “ variolous inoculation”—and that the Governors are using their “ *most active co-operation with other societies for the extermination of the small-pox.*” \* Again, in their Report of March 12th, 1807, they remark, that although vaccination has not been so generally adopted as it deserved, “ the practice at this Hospital has produced the greatest conviction in its favour, of which “ the medical officers have availed themselves for its “ recommendation.”

Sir, these preliminary observations, evincing the settled wish of the Governors to EXTERMINATE the small-pox, and their anxiety to diffuse the benefits of vaccination, will serve to shelter my motives from animadversion; since this desirable consummation, and this alone, has prompted me to offer a few strictures to your notice, upon the tendency and obvious effect of the plans actually pursued by the medical officers of their establishment.

The erection of an Hospital for admitting all patients who become accidentally infected with the small-pox, and of another institution for the communication of this disease by artificial means, thereby rendering it more safe to the patients, may be considered (under certain circumstances) highly desirable. I do not, therefore, affirm that the “ Small-pox and Inoculation Hospitals” in St. Pancras are *necessarily* a public nuisance,

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\* Having been obliged to make extracts from the printed Hospital Reports as I could procure them, while writing these observations, I have not been able to give a connected account of the practice: but I perceive, by a Report just come to hand, that in 1804 only 281 OUT-PATIENTS were inoculated with the small-pox; the whole number of out-patients that year being 2551, and of in-patients 89. This was also during the time of Dr. Woodville!

and a fertile source of human calamity to the British nation ; though I must say, as these Hospitals are now conducted, and especially, being seated in the suburbs of a vast metropolis, that I think they ought no longer to be endured,—because I really believe *they have occasioned the death of at least 25,000 individuals!* Sir, this is a very alarming supposition, and such as will almost chill the blood of every Governor who reads such an account. But, it is by no means an exaggerated statement, and I am of opinion it is within the limits of truth, rather than exceeds it! Let the four hundred Supporters of that Charity take this subject into their serious consideration, and I doubt not that they will finally resolve either to alter their present plan, or to divert their benevolence into a less exceptionable channel. To many of them, I presume, it will be interesting, to re-trace the original plan and proceedings of the FIRST Governors of those united Institutions. \*

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\* The author of a sensible and convincing “Letter to the Governors of the Small-pox Hospital” will, I know, permit me to make use of his eloquence in so good a cause :

“ Suppose (says he) a new disease, of unparalleled malignity, were to break out in a country, of so extremely contagious a nature, that wherever it appeared, no individual could hope to escape its fury ; that, after a time, a mode were to be discovered of communicating it to persons, under proper restrictions, with comparative safety, and without danger to others ; and an institution were formed for this purpose : such an institution would be hailed as an offspring of the purest benevolence and philanthropy, and would confer on its supporters the enviable title of friends to their country and mankind. Suppose still further, that, in the progress of time, the brilliant discovery of a preventive should be made, a discovery, if properly adopted, capable of exterminating this pestilence from the face of the earth ; and that the medical officers of this institution no longer communicated this disease to their patients with their pledged caution and

When one of the respectable and benevolent Governors, during the last Session of Parliament, told an

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circumspection, but sent them, like foxes with fire-brands at their tails, through every avenue of the metropolis, marking their progress with disease and death : such an institution would be considered as a disgrace to the age, and a curse to the country.

“ Gentlemen, such was, and such is, your Small-pox Inoculation Hospital.”

He then mentions the invaluable practice of vaccination, which, says he, “ was introduced into the Small-pox Hospital itself, by the late Dr. Woodville. If you did not think favourably of it, why did you permit it to be practised there? And if, after seven or eight years experience, you do not continue to think favourably of it, why do you permit it to be continued there? Upon what grounds do you justify allowing your medical officers to vaccinate many hundreds annually, if you are not satisfied with its power of preventing the small-pox? If the cow-pock be a preventive of this disease, it is capable of effecting its extermination, by having recourse to the practice in infancy, and thus shielding the human race from the effects of that pestilence. Any further discussion on this point would be superfluous; as it is evident, from your own conduct, that you are convinced of the efficacy of vaccination.

“ A question now arises, why the inoculation for so infectious, loathsome, dangerous, and fatal a disease as the small-pox, should be continued; when we can have recourse to a mild and safe remedy, which equally secures the patient from future infection, and is incapable of communicating any contagion? Here, Gentlemen, I cannot avoid noticing a material deviation in the economy of your charity, since its first institution. When first established, it was divided into two departments; the one for preparing and inoculating patients, the other for receiving those who had taken the casual infection.

“ By removing patients to the Hospital as soon as the disease appeared, and by confining those who were inoculated until their recovery, infection was prevented from being disseminated. In the more affluent classes of life, a family, by living retiredly, might at any time be inoculated without much danger to their



Honourable Member of the House of Commons, that the medical gentlemen of the Small-pox Hospital “do

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neighbours. This Institution afforded the same advantage to the lower classes. The motives which led to its foundation were honourable; the plan was useful.

“At what time, and at the instigation of what evil and malignant genius, you first permitted the inoculation of *out-patients*, I know not; but from that fatal hour, this metropolis has never known one single moment’s respite from that horrible distemper. You will, perhaps, attempt to defend this practice by observing that, from the state of your funds, you could admit only a very limited number for inoculation; and that, as this disease is less dangerous when communicated by inoculation, than when taken casually, many of the *out-patients* have been saved, who would otherwise have fallen victims to it. All this I readily admit: but, were you not equally aware of the state of society, among the lower classes in London, where many families are crowded together in one house; and where, if one child be variolated, infection will probably be communicated to the others, totally unprepared for it, and many of them, perhaps, labouring under teething, and other complaints incidental to infancy? Thus, when *one out-patient* is inoculated, a *dozen* may take the casual infection: add to this, the mischief of diffusing the contagion through the streets, by carrying the children to and from the Small-pox Hospital, twice or thrice a week during the disease. That shameful and abominable practice is the principal cause of the fatality of the small-pox in this city. Your Hospital affords a constant and inexhaustible source of contagion: it is the focus from which this poison is continually radiating to every part of the metropolis.

“If, however, in opposition to the dictates of reason, justice, and humanity, you should be deterred from doing that which you ought to do, the public have, at least, a right to expect that you will no longer permit your medical officers to variolate *out-patients*, which is directly contrary to your charter, and wholly unjustifiable. Should you persist in this nefarious practice, the times, I trust, are not so degenerate, but a patriot may be found who will bring this subject seriously before the Legislature.”

“ NOT NOW PRACTISE ANY BUT THE VACCINE INOCULATION, AND IF THEY DO, IT IS A PROPER SUBJECT FOR LEGISLATIVE AUTHORITY”—that Honourable House little thought how far from the truth such a statement was, and how little the Royal Patron and Subscribers at large knew of what was then doing within the walls of their Institution ! Mr. Isaac Hawkins Browne, on that occasion, well observed “ that the “ Governors and Directors are great promoters of the “ vaccine inoculation :” but he did not imagine how easy it was for one physician, to whom they had recently confided their medical arrangements, to keep a whole nation in alarm, and to disseminate a wasting plague through its remotest provinces, while the munificent offerings of a liberal people were employed to carry his destructive scheme into effect ! Not so the original intention and execution of the plan devised by the Governors ; of which I shall proceed to give you a cursory idea, borrowed from Dr. Woodville’s authentic History, Section v. p. 229, &c.

As the Inoculation Hospital in London gave rise to other establishments, and was the chief cause of the practice being extended, not only in England, but in different foreign countries, an account of its origin may be the more desirable. The project of an institution for this purpose was formed in 1746, when a small house was first opened for the admission of patients in Tottenham Court Road, another house was provided in Bethnal Green, and a third in Old Street. But, the accommodations being on too confined a scale, the house in Windmill Street was soon given up, and a larger building purchased in Mortimer Street, Cavendish Square, while the Hospital in Bethnal Green was also adapted for forty beds. However, in consequence of complaints

respecting the injury sustained by some inhabitants, the Hospital in Mortimer Street was relinquished, and another established in Lower Street, Islington: so that, in the year 1750, the establishment consisted of one house for the preparation of the patients, a second to receive them when the small-pox inoculation took effect, and a third for those who laboured under the casual disease. In 1752, another spacious building, with 130 beds, was also obtained in Cold Bath Fields. Dr. Poole was the first physician, and after him Dr. Archer; by whom 620 patients were attended with the natural small-pox, and 34 were inoculated, before the middle of the year 1750. The new and more extended Hospital was not completed at St. Pancras till 1768; at which period the variolous inoculations were carried to a considerable amount, as will appear from the following progressive and comparative view.

The proportion of deaths, during that early stage of the inoculating practice, was as one to two hundred and fifty.

PATIENTS INOCULATED:

*Before the month of Oct. 1749 . . . 17*

*From Oct. 1749, to Oct. 1750 . . . 29*

*From Oct. 1750, to Dec. 1751 . . . 85*

In 1752 . . . 112	In 1761 . . . 429
1753 . . . 129	1762 . . . 496
1754 . . . 135	1763 . . . 439
1755 . . . 217	1764 . . . 383
1756 . . . 281	1765 . . . 394
1757 . . . 247	1766 . . . 633
1758-9 . . 446	1767 . . . 653
1760 . . . 372	1768 . . 1084

Thus we observe, that only 6581 persons were inoculated from the year 1746 to 1768, both inclusive: we also see,

what is of great importance to be noticed, that the patients were not formerly turned into the metropolis, like rabid animals, to infect or kill thousands of their neighbours; but, "*as soon as the distemper appeared, it was thought expedient to send them to another house, where they remained about a fortnight longer before their final discharge*"—and, Sir, you will please to notice, that a system was adopted with the express view of preventing patients under preparation from casually receiving the small-pox "from others already inoculated." Here then we may remark, how sadly the practice has since deteriorated; for, not only are the unprotected members of society molested and destroyed, by the contagious emissaries from the Inoculating Hospital, but the out-patients themselves wishing for inoculation are mingled together on the same benches and in the same room with those who are visibly disfigured by the recent eruption!—One of the late vaccinated patients said, there were about three hundred people thus jumbled together promiscuously, when she attended; and, so great was the pressure of the "*MOB,*" as she called it, that some sat in suspense upon the ground before the Hospital door, while others handed their children over the heads of the crowd, till the inoculator could reach his little patients!!!

The new Hospital was not established without much opposition. The Churchwardens and Overseers of the Poor of the parish of Clerkenwell moved the Court of Chancery, for an injunction to restrain the Trustees of the Hospital from receiving any person affected with the small-pox into the house, then preparing in Cold Bath Fields: but the Lord Chancellor declared, that "*as the Hospital was of great public utility, and had not been proved a nuisance, he should refuse to grant the requisition.*"



For a long time, however, though the process of inoculating, &c. was so judiciously conducted, the patients were abused in the streets, and compelled to leave the Hospital by night, unobserved by the prejudiced populace. If the Institution had been managed in so disgraceful and dangerous a manner as it now is, the Lord Chancellor could not possibly have hesitated to consider it a public *nuisance*; and it is likely the enraged populace would then have set fire to the buildings, as a never-failing source of desolation to their families. But, how are the times changed, that your innocent preservative should be generally dreaded by the common people, and that they should even voluntarily expose themselves to the contagious air of a noisome pest-house !

The small-pox inoculation was adopted in England, about April 1721; and during the first eight years of inoculation, only 897 persons submitted to it throughout Great Britain! You have found that 4594 patients were inoculated last year at the Small-pox Institution alone, and that no more than 4211 were inoculated there during the first thirty years of its existence ! Compare these facts with the rapid progress of vaccination, and you will see one cause both of regret and of exultation,—of regret, to find how many unreasonable objections are started in the face of such irresistible evidence,—and of exultation, to observe that more persons were vaccinated during a single year after your discovery was published, than had been inoculated for the small-pox during thirty years ! Let these weighty considerations be attended to, and all opposition must speedily cease: but, unhappily, one variolous patient will furnish matter enough to infect the inhabitants of a whole nation !

In the prefatory observations of the annual Reports published by the Governors of the Hospital at St. Pan-

cras, it is well said, “ that of all distempers to which  
“ mankind is obnoxious, none has proved so afflicting  
“ to the sufferer, and so alarming to others, as the na-  
“ tural small-pox ; and its contagion is so much dreaded,  
“ that families of all descriptions are thrown into the  
“ utmost anxiety and distress when it invades them.  
“ For removing these difficulties, and for rendering  
“ every possible relief in such cases, this Hospital is  
“ established.”—Doubtless this was and is the object  
of the Governors ; but, Sir, how is that object accom-  
plished ? By what means was it attained last year ?  
Were the efforts of the Governors so successful in lessen-  
ing the “ *anxiety and distress of families,*” or in di-  
minishing the “ *contagion so much dreaded,*” that the  
Hospital is now entitled to the liberal support of all  
“ *humane*” persons ? Indeed, I cannot see with what  
truth or justice they come forward in the year 1808,  
“ earnestly soliciting the liberal and humane, to extend  
“ their bounty to the support and permanence of an  
“ Institution, which reason, good policy, humanity,  
“ and religion, so powerfully recommend.” The Public  
are hereby informed of the benevolent purposes of the  
Governors, and the widely “ obnoxious” and desolating  
conduct of their Officers ! I do not think it either rea-  
sonable, or politic, or humane, or religious, to encourage  
an Institution so mismanaged, and absolutely hurtful to  
the community. You have read, Sir, how the Inoculating  
Hospital was regulated, and how cautious its Physicians  
were, during the first thirty years of their procedure :  
you have also read, how grievously the good designs of  
the Governors have been lately perverted, and how ur-  
gent is the call on Parliament to suppress such a general  
nuisance. When you recollect the facilities afforded to  
prejudiced and ignorant people, for obtaining gratuitous

inoculation of the small-pox—the passing and re-passing of so many thousand infected out-patients, about and around this immense city—the frequent visiting of in-patients by mothers, nurses, or friends—the incongruous assemblage of contaminated and uncontaminated persons, some vaccinated, some variolated, and others attending to obtain protection against the small-pox, all of them in one apartment: when you further recollect, the people dwelling in the various houses where the out-patients lodge, conveying from place to place infected garments, or depositing the effluvia in hackney coaches, &c. and add to this, the vast quantities of small-pox matter sold or given away, 1st, by the Hospital officers—2dly, by the patients themselves—3dly, by the purchasers and inoculators in succession, all over the kingdom, and even to the utmost limits of British influence—I say, when these things are considered, you must feel perfectly astonished at the apathy and indifference of the Legislature, which permits all this, after having rewarded you for the means of preventing such calamitous evils! Surely, Sir, we shall not long have to deplore these unexampled tokens of national imbecility!

“ It seems very remarkable, (says Dr. Adams,)  
 “ that objections should only be known in England.  
 “ Though vaccination is spread through France, Italy,  
 “ Portugal, Germany, Prussia, Russia, and every  
 “ other part of Europe, through the East Indies,  
 “ and most other parts of Asia, through Africa; and  
 “ not only that part of America which is inhabited  
 “ by the descendants of Europeans, but among the  
 “ Indian Savages; still we hear of no objections to the  
 “ practice but in England! England, that ought to  
 “ boast the honour of the invention! England, that  
 “ may proudly say to France, ‘ *If you think us not a*



*“match for you single-handed in killing, at least we will be your superiors in the art of saving life!”\**

Dr. Adams is the very last person that should boast “in the art of saving life.” He who makes and feels objections, real objections, against vaccination, may be pardoned for acting consistently with such feelings: but, he who answers *all* objections, and still goes on to exert himself “in killing,” is more than “a match for you, single-handed.” Sir, one hand, daily armed with a variolous lancet, may do more mischief in this kingdom, than all your energies and all the energies of vaccinators can countervail, without the aid of Parliament!

Dr. A. tells us again, the Americans are astonished at our objections against vaccination, and that the French “only make use of this opportunity to laugh at us, and to say, how easily we are deceived; and the Irish will say, ‘How easy it is to cheat the English, who are always laughing at our blunders,’—for in Ireland they go on vaccinating, though they read and hear all that is written and spoken against it in this country.” Yes; they may well do all this; and, when they shall hear not only of what is “written and spoken against it,” but also of what is DONE against vaccination, and for the extensive spreading of the small-pox, by a gentleman too who condemns such conduct in others, let me ask, How will the hostile nations around us then mock at our calamity, and laugh when our fear cometh? Will they not smile at our weakness, and exult over us for our ruinous madness? Sir, doing evil is much more blameable and mischievous than speaking evil; opposing your practice by actions is ten-fold worse than resisting its progress by words! “It has been said by

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\* “Answers to all the Objections hitherto made against the Cow-pox,” pages 1, 2, 3, and 27.



“ some of the best of people, that it is every one’s duty  
 “ to inoculate for the small-pox, because by it the child  
 “ is saved from a severer disease. This was very proper  
 “ before a better method was known. But now it be-  
 “ comes every one’s duty, not only to think of their  
 “ own, but every other person’s children; *to do as they*  
 “ *would be done by.* Now, it is well known, that who-  
 “ ever is vaccinated, not only is equally safe from the  
 “ small-pox, much safer from humours than if inocu-  
 “ lated with small-pox, but also that he cannot convey  
 “ the disease to another. *Whereas, by inoculation for*  
 “ *small-pox, a whole town may be infected, and numbers*  
 “ *carried off before they are aware of the cause!* For  
 “ your own sakes, therefore, for the sake of others, and  
 “ keeping in view a Christian command, I trust you will  
 “ persuade every one to relinquish a practice which has  
 “ nothing to plead in its favour, and adopt another  
 “ against which nothing can be said.” Thus again  
 argues Dr. Adams, of the Small-pox Hospital!

But, remember the rapidly progressive strides of va-  
 riolation at the Small-pox Hospital, viz. only 49 out-pa-  
 tients, among 5831, were inoculated there during seven-  
 teen months in 1802 and 1803,—the number was 281  
 in the year 1804;—it rose to 2338 in the year 1805,  
 when Dr. Adams was elected,—2565 in the year 1806;  
 —and 4246 out-patients, besides 348 in-patients, were  
 inoculated last year! Is not such conduct, and the sub-  
 sequent exposure of variolous patients, a most aggravated  
 and grievous national offence? Is it doing as he would  
 be done by? Is it not acting wholly against reason and  
 without feeling? Is it not infecting the people without  
 necessity, and without a pretence to palliate the crime?  
 Is it not a flagrant breach of duty in a superior medical  
 officer, appointed for a particular object by his electors,

thus to oppose their evident wish, and thereby frustrate all endeavours to extinguish this pestilential disorder?

Dr. A. by his uniform practice and advice at that Hospital, augments the danger and multiplies the quantum of variolous contagion: he does so, after declaring to the populace, that they ought “to relinquish a practice “which has nothing to plead in its favour,” and that “by inoculation for the small-pox a whole town may be “infected, and numbers carried off before they are aware “of the cause!”\*

Is not this telling them to refrain from poisoning their children and their neighbours, while he himself is ready to administer the fatal dose? Is it not a species of inconsistency, too obvious to be concealed from the people, and too injurious to escape general reprehension? He tells us again, in another recent publication,† “THE “EXTERMINATION of the small-pox is a subject, however important, which seems at present less so than

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\* He says, “Let the wealthy of both sexes reflect on the situation of those to whom they are beholden for every article of dress, some of which come fresh from the chambers of the work-people to their own persons. Nor is it possible, by means that human ingenuity can suggest, to be prepared against a danger which may meet them in an open street as they descend from their carriages. Equally impossible will it be to trace the causes of these calamities by their effects.” (Dr. Adams on Morbid Poisons, p. 381.) He also admits, p. 383, “though the improved mode of treating the small-pox, and the improved condition of the inhabitants of the metropolis, must have lessened the fatality of the disease, yet more people are found annually to die of it. Hence it follows, that the number of people affected, even in the casual way, must have been considerably more increased than the accounts of deaths would mark.”—I hope the Legislature will notice this fact!

† Observations on Morbid Poisons, 1807, 4to. pp. 390, 397.

“ever; for small-pox may be said to be virtually ex-  
 “terminated. Every friend to vaccination may secure  
 “himself and his children. Those whose minds are  
 “not completely made up, may inoculate” (*i. e.* for  
 the small-pox). Truly, therefore, might the Doctor add,  
 “I SHALL NOT BE ACCUSED OF ANY WISH TO LESSEN  
 “THE TERRORS OF THE DISEASE.”—No, Sir, he is  
 not at all likely “to lessen its terrors,” nor to lessen its  
 tremendous ravages, without the interference of Parlia-  
 ment and the powerful help of restraining laws! Such  
 is the conduct, and such are the sentiments of a phy-  
 sician who, at the Small-pox Hospital, charges your dis-  
 covery with being *insufficient* to protect the patients;  
 but in his book on Morbid Poisons, (pp. 397, 392, 391,  
 401, 403,) he says, “I should conceive it lost time to  
 “offer even a summary of the arguments adduced to  
 “prove that cow-pox is a security against small-pox.  
 “There is, in my opinion, no medical fact that stands on  
 “a securer foundation. Vaccination offers us a com-  
 “plete security. Not only districts, but individuals,  
 “may secure themselves, whenever they think proper.”  
 Again, he tells us “the security of cow-pox is confirmed  
 “by irresistible facts,” which “place the result be-  
 “yond a doubt. The vast numbers we have *tested* in  
 “every possible way at the Hospital, prove to a convic-  
 “tion, that whatever objection may be made by the  
 “enemies of vaccination, or whatever doubts and anxie-  
 “ties may be nursed by its over-zealous friends, the  
 “practice must ultimately bear down all opposition; and  
 “the arguments against it will be forgotten, or only re-  
 “collected, like the early pamphlets against variolous  
 “inoculation.”

There is something so unaccountably inconsistent be-  
 tween Dr. Adams's practical arrangements and his specu-



lative opinions, that I know not how to bring them into contact with each other : there is so strong a meaning in the former, and such a persuasive power in the latter, that a friend to either the small-pox or the cow-pock would be content to engage him as a special pleader ; or, perhaps, I should rather say, he makes but a lame advocate for either side, on account of some apparent incongruities. You have seen him, for instance, a warm and decided friend to the cow-pox ; but you can hardly believe him in earnest, when it is considered how many thousands he inoculates for a pestilential disease intended to be thereby eradicated, and when he asserts that “ inoculation affords a security in the proportion of 6000 to 2, according to his register for the last eighteen months.” \* He allows, that “ this most dreadful of any known morbid poison may not only be rendered mild, but almost superseded ;” † and yet, when he writes in detail of exterminating the small-pox, the thought of doing so recoils, and it almost seems as if a hope lurked behind for its continuance. I will not throw out the illiberal and uncharitable insinuation of such a wish existing from interested motives. ‡

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\* Dr. Adams on Morbid Poisons, p. 390.—† *Ibid* p. 395.

‡ I should be very unwilling to assign, as a motive for encouraging the small-pox, any such selfish principle as I have heard mentioned by respectable individuals, well acquainted with Dr. Adams.—“ He has set up a carriage,” says one ; “ he has gone into a large house,” says another ; and “ he has but lately begun to practise as a physician,” says a third : ALL which may be true, without necessarily implying that he preys upon the vitals of his fellow-creatures. To be sure, he has only of late discovered such a *practical* attachment to the small-pox, as to excite any doubts of his wish to exterminate that pestilence. Not so with his predecessor : Dr. Woodville relinquished a considerable share (it is said nine-tenths) of his annual profits from variolous



I think it right to say a few words in reply to his idea of "inoculation affording security in the proportion of

inoculation, and strove most eagerly to uphold your discovery by his *practice* as well as his theory! He did this not only in private, but at the Hospital; and adduced the results of his practice to convince the Governors of that Institution, and to persuade the House of Commons, that so loathsome a plague ought no where to be endured, much less encouraged, and least of all encouraged at the Hospital! I subjoin part of his examination before a Committee of the House of Commons, in March 1802, precisely three years before he died.

"Dr. WOODVILLE, *Physician of the Small-pox Hospital, called in and examined.*

"Q. Are you conversant with the practice of vaccine inoculation?

"A. Yes; ever since the beginning of the year 1799.

"Q. Whom do you look upon as the discoverer thereof?

"A. I consider certainly Dr. Jenner: for, although since his publication it has appeared that it had been obscurely practised, the world would never have been acquainted with it but for Dr. Jenner.

"Q. Have you introduced this practice into either of the Hospitals of which you are physician?

"A. Yes; into the Inoculation Hospital.

"Q. Did you introduce this practice in consequence of Dr. Jenner's communications, or any other person's?

"A. Certainly from the information of Dr. Jenner.

"Q. Do you give the preference to the vaccine inoculation over the variolous?

"A. Constantly.

"Q. What are your motives for doing so?

"A. Because, in the first place, I find it equally certain in securing the patient in future against the small-pox, as if the person were inoculated with small-pox itself: and in the next place I attain this without danger or risk to the life of the patient, as he is put to little or no inconvenience during the whole process of the inoculation.

"Q. Is the cow-pox, like the small-pox, a contagious disorder?

“ 6000 to 2, according to his register.” Such an idea is certainly calculated to impress one’s mind less gravely respecting the extent of the evil you have endeavoured to

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“ A. Certainly not.

“ Q. Did you ever hear of any patient dying from the inoculation with vaccine matter?

“ A. One Hospital patient died while under inoculation of the cow-pox: but this was owing, in my opinion, to that patient having taken the small-pox in the common way; and his death ought to be attributed to the *small-pox*, the patient having a considerable number of small-pox pustules on him when he died.

“ Q. Do you believe that children, living constantly in a variolous atmosphere, are differently affected, with respect to the rapidity of progress, from children residing at home in the country, and therefore that the preventive or mitigating effects of vaccine inoculation cannot be correctly appreciated in the Inoculation Hospital?

“ A. I think that if patients under vaccine inoculation are exposed to variolous infection (which should not take place till after the effects of vaccine inoculation are accurately ascertained by the usual symptoms on the inoculated part of the arm), they would frequently be liable to variolous-like eruptions, and should not be considered as fair examples of the effects of vaccine inoculation. [*Let Dr. Adams remember this.*]

“ Q. Have you ever inoculated with small-pox matter after the patient had taken the cow-pox, in order to try its efficacy— and what was the event?

“ A. The number that has been inoculated with the vaccine disease in the Hospital, amounted on the first of January last to 7,500; about one half of which was since inoculated with small-pox matter, *in none of whom did the small-pox produce any effect.*

“ Q. Do you conceive Dr. Jenner to have made communications on this subject, which have been the means of its being adopted in this kingdom and other parts of Europe; or was it any other person, or by any other means?

“ A. The whole entirely originated with Dr. Jenner.”

*See Evidence at Large, published by the Rev. G. C. Jenner, No. 9, p. 24, &c.*



The inference which I draw from these discordant Reports, compared with those formerly published by the Governors, is that they never can tell what proportion of deaths occur from their Hospital practice. It will not be credited, that all those who die at a distance are heard of by the medical officers of that, or any other Hospital: besides which improbability, the public are actually in possession of certain authentic details concerning the decease of various out-patients, inoculated since Dr. Adams was elected physician there! The Society for bettering the Condition of the Poor, in their thirteenth Report lately published (December 1807) give an account of eight deaths ascertained by one gentleman, whom I suppose to be Mr. Bernard: I subjoin a part of that statement, and also another taken from a recent Letter addressed to the Governors of the Hospital at St. Pancras, by a gentleman known to me.

But, Sir, you must not forget what I have already said on this subject in my *Notes* at page 183 and 217, which I wish you to re-peruse before you proceed.\*

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\* “ The following account I have this day received from Sarah Chandler, No. 4, Paneras Place, a person very deeply interested in both of the events: in the former, as a source of sorrow and penitence, for her own imprudence. She had had *four of her children vaccinated*: all of them had done well; and all have since been exposed to the infection of the small-pox, without apprehension, and without inconvenience: she had, however, lately heard people speak against the cow-pox, and she was afraid (to use her own words) ‘it was not so safe as it had been.’ On the 21st of September last, when she applied at the Small-pox Hospital for her youngest son Thomas, a fine healthy child, aged six months, and was asked the usual question, whether she wished him to have the *small-pox*, or the *cow-pox*, she said, ‘*as he had named the small-pox first, she would prefer that:*’ *her child was inoculated with the SMALL-POX on the 21st of September;—he sickened on*



It is utterly impossible to believe that Dr. Adams could know all the events of 4594 cases inoculated last year, when he himself says (in his new pamphlet) *nineteen* out of eighty-five “did not attend with sufficient regularity to ascertain the progress of the arm, or the inoculation failed, and was repeated from other sources;” so that he knows nothing about the issue of these nineteen cases, though he was making peculiar experiments which required regularity in the attendance of all the eighty-five patients. If 19 out of 85 failed to attend properly, how many would fail in 4594? A little common sense and common arithmetic will solve this question, sufficiently for my purpose.

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*Michaelmas day, and he died on the 4th of October.* I do not state this case on account of its *singularity*; I wish it were an uncommon case. I hope, however, that the publication of it may prove a warning to others; and that it may serve as an antidote to that *pestilential calumny* which has been so industriously circulated.—The other was that of a *nurse child*, which Mrs. Chandler had the care of. On the first of June 1806, when she had this child in her arms in Covent Garden Piazza, and was talking to the child’s mother about it; *a woman passed close to them, with an infant in her arms, FULL OF THE SMALL-POX.* Her nurse child caught the infection, sickened soon after, and *died* on the sixth day, the 7th of June 1806.—B. 28th November 1807.”

“In a Popular View of Vaccination, lately published, Dr. Adams states, that out of 2500 variolated in the last twelvemonth, only two died. He neither knows, nor can know, the total amount of deaths. Within that period, I have heard of *more than two cases of death* from inoculation at your Institution. Within the above period, I also know of two cases of total blindness from inoculation at your Charity. While I am writing, I have been informed of two (more) cases of death; one in Carnaby Street, and the other in Warren Street, Fitzroy Square. Many other instances may be easily heard of, by those who have time and inclination to seek for them.” Letter, pp. 8, ro.

Whether one out-patient in three hundred, or in three thousand, dies of inoculation at the Small-pox Hospital, is certainly an inquiry of importance; but there is another question of much greater import than this, yet remaining to be considered. The Governors, in their last Report, mention that nearly a sixth part of those who were inoculated have been saved from an untimely grave; and, as there have been 46,175 persons inoculated for the small-pox, it is supposed by the Governors that 7,695 lives have been saved by means of their charity, since its establishment in the year 1746. Let us, therefore, investigate this subject a little more closely: perhaps they have taken much too narrow a view of the question. My own opinion is, that, instead of adding so many thousand members to the community, above **THRICE** as many have been destroyed!

I have computed that every out-patient at the Small-pox Hospital gives the disease casually to three others: and I find this is the proportion allowed by a gentleman, whose calculation I was not then acquainted with; I mean Mr. Murray's.\* But I am now persuaded this is

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\* "It is a well-authenticated fact, that of those persons who take the small-pox in the natural way, by infection, one in six dies; and in London perhaps a still larger proportion: and, as at least 8000 out-patients have been inoculated at this Hospital since 1803, when they acknowledged the vaccine to be a preventive, supposing upon the most moderate calculation, that only *three* others have been infected in consequence of each of these inoculations, this will amount to 24,000, one-sixth of which is 4000 members of society, who have been probably destroyed by these means within the last **FOUR YEARS**!! Will the above observations then be thought unjust, or the alarm here given unfounded?"—Page xvi of "Introductory Remarks" to Mr. Murray's "Debates in Parliament."

You will see that the inoculations since Dr. Woodville's decease (March 1805) have been much more numerous than Mr.

too low a calculation; for, after making further inquiry, I learn that on a very moderate computation the removal of one fever-patient generally prevents the infection of FIVE OTHERS, and not more than ONE IN TWENTY-THREE escapes the febrile attack in a confined situation. This is allowed by Dr. Haygarth, of Bath, and the Physicians of the House of Recovery in Gray's Inn Lane, to be a fair conclusion, resulting from very large practice in the typhus fever. Now, it is certain that the small-pox contagion is much more active than that of typhus fever; but I make a large deduction for the number of persons who have had the small-pox, and therefore do not think each of the individuals labouring under this disease would (on a fair average) infect above three or four others *in London*. Then, on the other hand, we should add the infection produced by all those who are inoculated from them, which I think must ultimately give six times as many more; and besides these, the charges of variolous matter must be taken into the account, which are issued either from the Inoculation Hospital or from private sources, the effects of which cannot easily be estimated. Of the patients who catch the disease, we are to consider that not less than one-sixth part perish; and of those who are inoculated, about one person in three hundred dies, or, I think, one in two hundred. The total number of deaths will thus appear to have been very alarming indeed; so that the Governors of the Small-pox Hospital have not taken a complete view of the final result of their 46,175 inoculations, when they only state that nearly one-sixth of this whole amount have

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Murray apprehended. During the last THREE YEARS ONLY, 9797 persons have been inoculated at the Small-pox Hospital, and probably above 4898 individuals were destroyed by the natural infection immediately received from them!



been saved from an untimely grave. It appears to me, on a fair estimate, that at least twenty-five thousand, perhaps THIRTY THOUSAND, HAVE BEEN DESTROYED, IN CONSEQUENCE OF THE EXISTENCE OF THESE HOSPITALS ; and that considerably more than two thousand individuals were cut off during the year 1807. I hope this awful and national view of the case will at length excite serious *Parliamentary* attention !!!

After the representations which have been made of the terrible consequences ensuing from the establishment of such a nursery for small-pox contagion, in the vicinity of London, and in the very teeth of the United Parliament, it may appear almost trifling to detail two or three cases, in a separate form ; it may seem like shewing a vast city in flames, and then gravely attempting to demonstrate that two or three detached houses were burnt down ! Nevertheless, I think it right to lay before you a few facts which have accidentally fallen in my way ; because there are some people so unreasonably sceptical that, unless we single out particular instances, they will not believe an authentic account of evils in the mass. For my own part, I deem a minute account of separate cases of comparatively small importance, since it is entirely impossible that such a great and never-failing source of mischief can exist, without producing much more harm in one day than I could find out by a whole year's common observation. It would really be frivolous, in my opinion, to object against my general conclusions, merely for want of the names and residences of those who have fallen a sacrifice to the system recently pursued by Dr. Adams. It would be much the same as if I were to deny the ravages made by a battery, when discharged upon a regiment, because I could not point out which of the guns took effect in particular examples



of death and mutilation ! - However, I add the few cases alluded to, as there may be readers who will attach more consequence to them than I do myself; and I am prompted to this, by a letter which a benevolent gentleman has lately sent to me, wishing for exact information concerning the case of Christiana Stone, who was vaccinated at the Small-pox Hospital, and afterwards had the small-pox.

Christiana Stone, aged nearly twenty, the servant of Mrs. Yarnold, No. 8, North Place, Gray's Inn Lane, attended at the Hospital on the 7th of September 1807, for the purpose of being vaccinated. She was extremely terrified to see a great many persons in the same room, and one on each side of her upon the same bench, covered with the small-pox. Under these circumstances she was inoculated for the cow-pock, as many others were. A week afterwards, she says, a vesicle had arisen upon her arm; from which one of the gentlemen (she believes Dr. Adams) vaccinated several persons. In a few days more she became very ill, and sickened for the small-pox, which broke out in various parts of her body.

The case was named to me by Mr. Farnworth, who thought it a striking instance of the mischievous effect of mingling together, indiscriminately, all persons visiting the Small-pox Hospital. On the 28th of September, when I saw the patient, she had some pustules still remaining, which contained variolous matter. A neighbouring apothecary (Mr. Mariner) attended her from the 17th of September to the 23d of October, and delivered in a bill for medicines of 1*l.* 19*s.*—The young woman tells me, she became feverish on the night of September the 16th, and went to the Hospital on the 18th, when the medical gentlemen there could not be

certain what was the cause of her illness; but, on the 20th it was pronounced by them to be the small-pox. The patient says, the number of attendants at the Hospital was so great, that large groups of them sat on the ground, before the door, as they could not crowd into the great room: and she supposed there might be about 300 in one day!

After having written down the above particulars, and read them over to the young woman, she assented to the statement I had made, and her mistress signed my memorandum; as also did Mrs. Elizabeth Phillips, at No. 8, Back Hill, a relation of the patient, who attended with her at the Hospital: so that we may consider this account tolerably correct. The following additional information has been since obligingly communicated to me by Mr. Wachsel, Apothecary at the Hospital.

The vaccine vesicle was elevated on the third day after inoculation; lymph was contained in it on the 10th day; a few variolous pustules appeared on the 12th, and on the 15th day about fifty had come out; twice as many pustules were evident on the 20th day, hard, and scabbing; "23d, the arm and pustules all scabbed." Mr. W. also informs me, that four persons were inoculated from her for the small-pox, and five were vaccinated, "*all of whom had each disease regular;*" though he observes, that "one of those vaccinated did not afterwards attend."—It is curious and worthy of remark, that Mr. Wachsel declares the variolous pustules "*scabbed like the vaccine.*" This is to me quite unintelligible, and must be placed to the account of those inexplicable circumstances which perhaps nobody ever saw without the walls of the Small-pox Hospital!

You may draw your own inference from this narrative, and from the singular train of experiments which

the physician and apothecary at the Hospital persist in making! Is not their *vaccine* practice confusing and confounding to the last degree? You know that they talk of the variolous and the vaccine disease being BOTH ALIKE! I cannot meet with a single practitioner in London, of this opinion; perhaps, because nobody else has such fine opportunities of assimilating the two disorders. I do not believe, however, that they will easily amalgamate, while one of them remains contagious and the other not!

The next case I shall mention is best stated by copying a paper which now lies before me, signed by the father and mother of the patient, whom I have seen:

“ Elizabeth Cresswell was inoculated for the *cow-pox*  
 “ on a Monday, by Mr. Wachsel. It did not take  
 “ effect, and she was therefore inoculated again on the  
 “ Monday following, which produced a cow-pock vesi-  
 “ cle: but the child sickened on the next Sunday, and  
 “ broke out with the *small-pox* almost immediately;  
 “ from which we, the parents, conclude that the child  
 “ certainly caught the small-pox, when she first was  
 “ taken to the Hospital.

“ Attested by us, } ABR. CRESSWELL.  
 “ Feb. 25, 1808. } H. CRESSWELL.”

The above case was named to me accidentally, at a gentleman's where I happened to be speaking of the strange confusion which exists in the inoculating business of the Hospital; and finding that the principal facts could be well attested, I obtained them immediately.

While I am addressing you (March 23d) Mr. Smith, a surgeon in Holborn, has written me an account of the great fatality of the small-pox which he had seen near



his own neighbourhood, especially during the last six months. He says, a Mr. Moor has just lost his child, who caught the disease of Mr. Love's child, inoculated at the Hospital in St. Pancras. He adds—"I find, in general, that the contagion is brought from this Hospital; and in Plumb-tree Court, Shoe Lane, not less than *fourteen died of small-pox within one month, and numbers equally great have died in the populous courts of Gray's Inn Lane!*" This statement, you will observe, agrees with what I have already mentioned in a former part of my Letter; and you will also recollect the alarming facts described at p. 183, on the authority of Mr. Mathias, at Somers Town, where he lately witnessed *seven deaths from the small-pox in a fortnight!* Two other gentlemen, of my acquaintance, have likewise obtained authentic information of several recent deaths, which can be distinctly traced to the same origin: but, it is needless to insist on a few single cases, while we are convinced that the seeds of mortality and woe are daily disseminated, by the physician and apothecary of this Hospital, throughout the British dominions, and even to its remotest colonies!

Mr. Smith has likewise favoured me with the perusal of a late communication from a physician in Yorkshire, which points out, in very striking colours, the extremely serious effects of inoculating for the small-pox and cow-pock at one rendez-vous, and in one apartment; for it is next to impossible for any practitioner, under such circumstances, to keep clear of mistakes, similar to those herein described. I have Mr. Smith's permission to make an extract from his friend's letter; and, lest the facts should be questioned by the Governors of the Small-pox Hospital, I am provided with the names of all the parties concerned.



This physician writes,\* that he long ago received a circular letter from Dr. P—— containing a thread infected with supposed vaccine matter, and desiring an answer to several queries relative to the result of its trial. The practitioner used it, as directed by his correspondent; and the effect was, that two children were greatly endangered, and a third was affected very severely, by an attack of "*the true confluent small-pox.*" He says, "they are all now within a few miles of me, and from their scars will fairly shew it was variolous and not vaccine matter." He then alludes to another "most respectable physician at Leeds, who had the same sort of accident, and nearly lost his patient and credit thereby." In consequence of this, he adds, they discontinued vaccination, until they had seen cases inoculated "with matter sent from Dr. Jenner;" which proved very successful, and encouraged the writer "to vaccinate some hundreds, till he had made himself master of the disease." He concludes with saying, "that almost every medical man near him had one of the same Letters," enclosing matter from Dr. P——. You may therefore conjecture how much the reputation of your discovery was promoted, by these numerous Yorkshire experiments!

I have heard, that similar accidents happened in other counties; and I have seen two small-pox patients, from the same gentleman's *vaccine* inoculations in London: Mr. Ring has related several more.† Some observations on this subject are contained in the London

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\* The letter is dated March 1st, 1808, at a town near Doncaster; and is addressed to "Mr. Smith, No. 146, Holborn Bars, London."

† See article Cow-pox, in Dr. Rees's New Cyclopædia, the 4to. edition.

Medical Review for 1800, vol. iii. pp. 188, 312, 316, and 421. It is proper, however, to put the saddle on the right horse, by observing that I understand Dr. P—— received those numerous supplies of matter from Dr. Woodville's corrupt source, at the SMALL-POX HOSPITAL!!! I do not pretend to know what sort of anomalies are found by Dr. Adams at that Hospital; but, I suppose he has recently met with some variolous cases, where the pure vaccine disease was expected, as he admits that "small variolous pustules have appeared in a very few instances after the vaccine scab has formed," (Popular View, p. 130.) and he considers the two disorders essentially the same.

A friend of yours in Wimpole Street, who has distinguished himself by his exertions for improving the condition of the poor, wrote to me on the 20th of February as follows:—"In the course of the last fortnight I have had several conversations, with persons of the two Houses, respecting vaccination.

"The case in your last page does not obtain the general credit it is entitled to: and I therefore submit to you whether the affidavit of Christiana Stone should not be taken, and in some way made public. This is ground (as I have been contending) *for Parliament to interfere, as to the Small-pox Hospital.*

"There is another matter, on which I have also a word to say; the cases at Ringwood. It is asserted that they have never been properly explained, and that the friends of vaccination have declined the enquiry. The fact, I have reason to believe, is the reverse."

There are two or three intimations in that letter, which must be noticed particularly:—1st, It appears, that the case of Christiana Stone, which was published by the author of "A Letter to the Governors of the

Small-pox Hospital," is deemed of such importance as to claim the attention of Parliament, and even to require its interference in regulating the medical practice of that Institution.—2dly, I am erroneously supposed to be the author of the above-mentioned "Letter to the Governors;" and I find the same opinion prevailed, till lately, at the Small-pox Hospital.—3dly, It is evident that the Jennerian Society's Report on the alleged failures of vaccination at Ringwood, has not yet received due attention and publicity. I shall offer some remarks on each of these heads.

I.—I have already given a correct and attested account of the case of Christiana Stone; which, in my decided opinion, is of much less importance than the GENERAL SYSTEM ITSELF now pursued at the Hospital: for, if I were to adduce a dozen such detached cases of the alarm and misery arising from that system, it could never be imagined that these were the only instances, or the worst, which actually occurred. I consider the grand evil to be, the unrestrained and promiscuous exposure of so many THOUSANDS OF OUT-PATIENTS, and the inevitable dissemination of the casual small-pox by their intercourse with others! Consider, my dear Sir, that one Soldier, one Drover, one Coachman, one Porter, one Footman, one Passenger, one Washer-woman, or the Child of one poor person, conveying a load of pestilential effluvia from town to town, and from street to street, may be the medium of infection, deformity, and death, to many hundreds,—who perhaps can never conjecture in what way they caught the disease! If I could not produce the particulars of a single disastrous case, arising from the practice at that Hospital, I should still argue against its evil tendency; and might insist on the consequences which must inevitably ensue, with-



out a miraculous suspension of natural causes, perpetually operating.

I have given a statement of facts, which I hope will be considered of far more importance, in a national view, than the case of Christiana Stone; and which will really bear to be brought forward, “as a ground” for Parliament to interfere with the Small-pox Hospital.” If our ancestors thought proper to lay restraints on all those who were affected with an uncontagious leprosy, and our contemporary Governors have judged it needful to abridge the personal liberty of subjects coming from foreign parts, where the plague exists; how much more reason is there for us at least to *endeavour* to exterminate the variolous pestilence, which annually cuts off about 50,000 British subjects!!!\*

I have examined the numerous Acts of Parliament which relate to pestilential disorders, existing in or near this kingdom; and they are all constructed on the principle, that if a disease prevails, or is apprehended, of THE NATURE OF A TRUE PLAGUE, highly contagious, destructive in its effects, and imminently hazardous to the public welfare, then such Acts of Parliament may without doubt be put in force. But, Sir, I maintain that the small-pox itself is a TRUE PLAGUE, a real pestilence, partaking of all the properties of those fatal dis-

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\* See Camden's Britan. Leicester,—The Statutes at Large, on Plague, Pestilence, and Quarantine, particularly in the reigns of James I. Anne, Geo. I. II. III.—Also, “A Letter to the Right Hon. Spencer Perceval” by a gentleman learned in the law, London, 1807, who has deserved well for an attempt to interest the Legislature on this subject; but he has not sufficiently insisted on the extent and fatality of this disease, which, as Dr. Lettsom observes, is proved by more than an hundred years experience to destroy about 50,000 persons annually in this kingdom!!!



cases which are guarded against in the Quarantine laws ;\* and the only reason why those laws are not enforced

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\* The learned and accomplished Dr. Mead uses this language :  
 “ Indeed the small-pox is a TRUE PLAGUE, though of a particular kind ; bred, as I have shewn all PESTILENCES are, in the Egyptian climate, and brought into Asia and Europe by the way of commerce, &c. I really take this to be a PLAGUE of its own kind : and, that it is a modern disease, not known to the ancient Greek or Roman Physicians, is to me a matter beyond all doubt.”—Mead’s Works, pp. 3, 104, 107, vol. ii. 12mo.

Dr. Fothergill also writes thus, to Dr. Haygarth : “ I shall very cheerfully unite in doing every thing in my power, to promote an Institution which has for its object the banishment of so great a PLAGUE.”—But, what is a plague, we may be asked ? “ A PLAGUE,” says Dr. Samuel Johnson, “ is a disease eminently contagious and destructive.” Surely the small-pox is contagious and destructive, beyond any other plague !

Anno 39° & 40° Georgii III. A. D. 1800, it was enacted as follows : “ And whereas infectious diseases and distempers which may *not* be deemed the plague, have raged and may rage in foreign parts, the communication whereof may be highly dangerous to the health of His Majesty’s subjects of this kingdom ; be it declared and enacted, That it shall be lawful for His Majesty, by and with the advice of his Privy Council, by his Royal Proclamation, from time to time to declare any such infectious disease or distemper to be of *the nature of the plague.*”

Also by a former Statute, Anno 38 Geo. III. A. D. 1798, chap. 33. sect. iv. it was enacted : “ And whereas contagious diseases or distempers have raged, and may rage, in foreign parts, which may *not* be deemed the plague, and not within the provisions contained in the said Acts, although the communication of such diseases or distempers may be *highly injurious* to this kingdom ; it is therefore expedient that the said recited Acts, and any other Act or Acts of Parliament, in any way regarding the performance of quarantine, should be extended, and declared to extend, to such contagious diseases or distempers : be it therefore enacted, That the said recited Acts, and all and every other Acts or Act of Parliament now in force, in

against the VARIOLOUS PLAGUE is, because we think it can never be wholly excluded or got rid of by human efforts, but will necessarily appear from time to time as a spontaneous epidemic. Happily, this notion is quite groundless, and has been rejected by the best medical writers since the days of Sydenham. We are perfectly certain, that no example can be adduced in our own memory, of the small-pox becoming suddenly prevalent, without the intervention of some infected person, or other contaminating medium. Dr. Haygarth, in his "Sketch of a Plan to exterminate the casual Small-pox," has established this fact in the most unquestionable manner.

If the Legislature, in its wisdom, should devise legal

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" any way regarding the performance of quarantine, shall be extended, and the same are hereby declared to extend, to all such diseases or distempers as His Majesty, by and with the advice of his Privy Council, shall judge to be *probably infectious*, and shall so declare by order in Council notified by proclamation, or published in the London Gazette; and all the rules, regulations, restrictions, provisions, pains, penalties, and forfeitures, contained in the said recited Acts, and in all and every other Acts and Act of Parliament now in force regarding the performance of quarantine, shall be extended and applied, and are hereby declared to extend and apply, to such diseases and distempers respectively; in the same manner as if each and every the powers, directions, authorities, clauses, matters, and things, in such Acts respectively contained, relating to the disorder called the *plague*, were particularly repeated and re-enacted in the body of this present Act, and applied to such other diseases and distempers as aforesaid respectively."

By 39 and 40 Geo. III. cap. 80. § 9, "It shall be lawful for His Majesty, by and with the advice of his Privy Council, by his Royal Proclamation, TO DECLARE *any infectious disease to be of the nature of the plague.*"

restraints sufficiently powerful, to keep ALL infected persons and things from exposure, and at the same time afford encouragement to *gratuitous* vaccination, by communicating popular instructions and rewarding skilful practitioners according to their success, I am clearly of opinion, AT LEAST FORTY THOUSAND LIVES might be annually saved to the nation !! This great good may be accomplished, with the perfect acquiescence of the public. Even the warmest friends of liberty would concur in it, provided weak and prejudiced men were not positively prohibited by law from employing variolous inoculation : and I conceive there would be no great danger in such a permission, because very few indeed, and that only for a short period, would be found so foolhardy as to submit to those severe restraints or penalties for the sake of variolous inoculation. Perhaps, in seven years we should find the common people as hostile to the small-pox, as they now are to the plague of Egypt or the yellow fever of North America ! I humbly suggest, that this alone is the proper mode of trying to exterminate the small-pox, by legislative enactments ; but I think, the proposal of compelling people to vaccinate their children, or forbidding the practice of inoculation for the small-pox, under pressing circumstances and by medical gentlemen authorized to conduct the process, would be highly offensive and exceptionable, in this land of freedom.

II.—I was next to say something on the authorship of an anonymous Letter, addressed to the Governors of the Small-pox Hospital. All I have to remark is, that I had not any knowledge of this pamphlet till I saw it in print, but that I approve of the author's object most sincerely. I consider the Hospital a common nuisance, and terribly dangerous to the public ; and I think it the

duty of the Governors of that Charity to be so charitable as to convert it into a *mere pest-house*, for the reception of persons who casually take the disease and require such protection. As it is now managed, there is no general annoyance existing in London which can bear any comparison with this, and I am only amazed that it is thus long endured ! \* The law punishes a man for offending us by a smoky chimney or an unpleasant smell, and for casting entrails or ordure into a ditch, so as to annoy any of His Majesty's subjects ; but, it suffers hackney coaches, &c. &c. to be impregnated with contagion, and all our senses annoyed by morbid poisons, tending to death, without restraint and without punishment ! A nuisance, remediable by law, is such an offence as tends greatly to disturb or destroy the personal comfort of any one ; and therefore, a small-pox patient, exposed in an open carriage, or in the street, must be as real a nuisance as a boy playing with squibs or rockets ! If a mass of corrupt entrails cast into a ditch creates a nuisance, in the eye of the law ; surely a living mass of contagious corruption, publicly exhibited, is at least as obvious and hurtful a nuisance as the dead mass ! !

But, I am forgetting my present subject, and should pass on to the third particular, the Ringwood affair.

III.—You will not consider the disasters at Ringwood as imputable to vaccination, but to the want of it ; nor can it hereafter be said, with a shadow of truth, that the public have not the means of coming at the real facts. The foregoing explanations on this subject, though written under very great disadvantages—amidst perpetual

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\* See Viner's Abridgement of Law and Equity, second edition, 1793, pp. 19—47, respecting NUISANCES ; and then judge if the Inoculating Hospital be not a most offensive and abominable NUISANCE !



interruptions—and under circumstances peculiarly embarrassing to myself—I think are nevertheless calculated to allay the fears of those who wish prosperity to vaccination, as well as to repress the sanguine hopes of its unreasonable enemies. It therefore cannot now be “asserted, that the cases at Ringwood have never been properly explained, and that the friends of vaccination have declined the inquiry.”

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On a review of what I have written, I see much reason to lament that the circumstances which gave rise to this long Letter were not *all* before me when I began; but, that I have been obliged to notice a variety of objects, in an irregular way, as they came to my knowledge. Had the whole composition been done at once, and an opportunity afforded me of digesting and arranging my matter, instead of sending it *picce-meal* to the printer's, I trust it would have assumed a more methodical form; while the several parts of it might have been better connected, and less undeserving of your attention. You will, however, accept the attempt as a proof of my zeal in your humane cause, and as an evidence of my increasing esteem for your character.

I remain,

Dear Sir,

Your sincere and obliged Friend,

March 28th, 1808.

WILLIAM BLAIR.

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THE END.

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## POSTSCRIPT.

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*March 31st, 1808.* When the whole of this work, except the preface, was printed off, I learnt that Mr. Birch had published an "APPENDIX TO FATAL EFFECTS OF COW-POX, &c. &c." Having procured it, I found it comprized twenty-two pages of letter-press; and that it is sold for one shilling, stitched up with the former, which alone cost eighteen-pence! Thus we see how liberal the author is to his purchasers; and among those who cannot afford to buy the pamphlet for one shilling, novel and singular means have been found of distributing it gratuitously!

The author begins by alluding to "a very curious Report, issued from the Royal Jennerian Society, since the publication of this *statement of facts*"—namely, the statement which I have endeavoured to expose to public view in its genuine colours, and have shewn to be a statement of falsehoods.

He next says, it is very uncertain of whom the Royal Jennerian Society consists, "or whether the Committee" (he means the Directors), "is formed of any more than Esquire Ring, and Esquire Blair, and a Doctor."—If he will turn to page 37 of my former pamphlet on this subject, "The Vaccine Contest," he will find a list of the Royal Patrons and Vice-Patrons, the Noble President and Vice-Presidents, &c. &c. comprehending names which, both for rank and number, I believe are unequalled in any other medical Institution throughout the whole world. I will gratify him by exhibiting a correct list of the present Directors, lest he

should hereafter plead his ignorance as an excuse for groundless and malevolent insinuations.

“No proof is brought,” says he, “to contradict the “Grave-digger’s account of the twenty who were buried “at Ringwood, according to MY LIST.” So then the author of this appendix acknowledges the former list to be his, and of course the pamphlet was his also! I have evidence from more respectable authority than the “Grave-digger” of the persons who died of the small-pox at Ringwood; but Mr. Birch’s list does not shew who were vaccinated. Neither the Grave-digger, nor the Sexton, nor the Undertaker, nor the Vestry-Clerk himself, is a judge of that point; and therefore we appeal to *medical* authority, in answer to such inadequate testimonies as those adduced by the pamphleteer. A broad hint is given that “*the unsworn evidence of three characters,*” viz. Mr. Ring, Dr. Knowles, and myself, is insufficient “to contradict the accurate list” of such a man as the author! Possibly he may find that the public give as much credit to three “unsworn” persons as to one. HE insists, “that those poor people were “vaccinated”—while WE insist that proofs are wanting to support such a bold declaration; and that the Grave-digger’s testimony is worth no more than his own, because it is not the testimony of a competent eye-witness to the actual vaccinations.

He says “The Plenipotentiaries open their credentials without alleging a reason for the Doctor’s neglect of duty:” but I now refer him to page 195 of the present volume, for satisfaction on that head, where he will perceive how misplaced his remarks are upon Dr. Jenner, for non-attendance at Ringwood. The next sentence shews that Mr. Birch is galled very severely:

“The men-midwives at Ringwood, having received

“ the last and best instructions from the Triumvirate,  
 “ boldly step forward to contradict what they had for-  
 “ merly written to the College of Surgeons, and give the  
 “ lie to themselves, and to all who think differently  
 “ from themselves.”—Ah, Sir, there’s the rub; they  
 disclose the writer’s infidelity and shallow proceedings so  
 plainly, as to call for some excuse before the world!  
 What individual has “ given the lie” to the author? Is  
 it Mr. Westcott? If so, observe how naturally this con-  
 sequence follows; that the author of the Narrative and  
 the Surgeon who is so *ill* treated by his correspondent  
 Mr. Westcott must be one person, and that person is  
 Mr. BIRCH! “ Let nothing but the truth come forth,”  
 he adds, “ and the public will be able to judge.”

The author then compliments himself for his “ sound  
 “ sense,” and tells his readers “ the three Plenipoten-  
 “ tiaries, who sent themselves down to represent Dr.  
 “ Jenner, have by this Report given cow-pox a blow  
 “ from which it will never recover.” Of that transac-  
 tion we are content to abide the result: we neither sent  
 ourselves down, nor represented Dr. Jenner. Let the  
 author take heed, lest he soon feel *the blow* which was  
 intended to fall upon others.

“ The conduct of the Jennerian Society has been so  
 “ exceptionable, that the majority of the Members have  
 “ withdrawn their names”—Where did he learn this?  
 —“ and no respectable person appears to remain on  
 “ the Committee.” The Society has no other standing  
 Committee than the Board of Directors, who published  
 the Ringwood Report. Here then are their designations,  
 Mr. Birch; see if you recognise among them any *one*  
 “ respectable person:”

John Abernethy, Esq.  
 J. Addington, Esq.  
 C. R. Aikin, Esq.

W. Allen, Esq.  
 Sir J. W. Anderson, Bart.  
 and Alderman.



William Andrews, Esq.	F. Knight, Esq.
J. J. Angerstein, Esq.	R. Ladbroke, Esq. M. P.
John Arch, Esq.	Thomas Leech, Esq.
Dr. Babington.	L. Leese, Esq.
Dr. Baillie.	Dr. Lettsom.
Thomas Bernard, Esq.	E. L. Macmurdo, Esq.
T. Blades, Esq.	Dr. Marcet.
William Blair.	S. Merriman, Esq.
Dr. Blane.	J. Moore, Esq.
T. Bodley, Esq.	Thomas Paytherus, Esq.
Thompson Bonar, Esq.	Richard Phillips, Esq. sen.
W. Brownlow, Esq.	Richard Phillips, Esq. jun.
S. Chamberlain, Esq.	W. S. Poyntz, Esq. M. P.
Henry Cline, Esq.	Sir C. Price, Bart. M. P.
H. C. Combe, Esq. M. P.	John Ring, Esq.
and Alderman.	J. T. Rutt, Esq.
Dr. Denman.	Dr. Saunders.
J. Dimsdale, Esq.	William Smith, Esq. M. P.
W. Dyne, Esq.	S. Thorp, Esq.
G. Eade, Esq.	J. F. Tuffen, Esq.
Thomas Everett, Esq. M. P.	J. Upton, Esq.
Sir Walter Farquhar, Bart.	W. Vaughan, Esq.
H. Field, Esq.	Robert Wainewright, Esq.
J. Gibson, Esq.	H. Weymouth, Esq.
G. Godwin, Esq.	W. Wilberforce, Esq. M. P.
John Gurney, Esq.	Dr. Willan.
Rev. Rowland Hill.	S. Woods, Esq.
P. Hurd, Esq.	Dr. Yelloly*.
Dr. Jenner.	

The consummate ignorance of the author is further discovered by his nonsense and mistakes, about "the war carried on between Dr. Jenner's and the Rev. Rowland Hill's Societies." The man does not know that these two individuals join hand and heart in *one* cause, and in *one* Institution—that "the Rev. Rowland Hill" is a most active Director of the Jennerian Society, and conducts vaccination in Surry Road upon

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\* The above list includes those Directors *only* who are usually summoned by the Secretary, to assist in the current business of the Institution.

principles entirely conforming to the wishes of Dr. Jenner and his friends.

It seems, Mr. Birch has been rendered uncomfortable by some recent "attack" upon him "in the Medical Journal," which he attributes to those who had nothing to do with the affair. At least I assure him, on the word of an "unsworn" gentleman, that I was not the writer of that "attack"—and I believe Mr. Ring is quite as innocent as myself. But "He is not to be provoked, by such attacks, to lay his character open to the malice of the two Esquires; and the following letter, which HIS *publisher has received* from Mr. Birch, is the best reply that can be made to the Report of the Ambassadors from Ringwood, and the *supposed* authors of the Medical Monthly Abuse :—

" To Mr. HUGHES, Bookseller, Paternoster Row.

" SIR,

" The accounts you have published, of the fatal occurrences which happened at Ringwood, in Hants, to nearly correspond with *those* I have received, and so positively contradict the Report, printed under the title of the Jennerian Society, that I beg you to add to the Appendix you are about to publish, the following paragraph, extracted from a letter to a most respectable Member of Parliament; which letter I am able to produce, whenever proper authority demands it.

" You may also publish, from my authority, that the same occurrences have happened at Missenden, in Bucks, as at Ringwood; but less fatal, because the Vestry met, and determined to *inoculate the parish*. \*

" I am, Sir, your very humble servant,

" J. BIRCH.

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\* Compare this *Missenden* story with a hint in Mr. B.'s *Cowpox Chronicle*, of April the first, 1808.

“ *Extract from a Letter, dated Ringwood, 26th February 1808.*

‘ I likewise thank you for the Report of the Jennerian Committee. It is a most shameful misrepresentation, and, I fear, will mislead many ; but nothing that can be now said in favour of vaccination, will reconcile the practice of it, to any one who has witnessed the fatal effects it has been attended with in this neighbourhood.’

I am perfectly satisfied that neither Mr. Birch nor his friend the “ Member of Parliament ” can refute the statements given in the official Report of the Jennerian Society, and that calling it “ *a most shameful misrepresentation* ” will not in the least tend to discredit the account with any reflecting person. For this reason, I leave the Report to stand or fall by its own intrinsic merits. *Valeat quantum valere potest.*

The rooted enmity and perseverance of Mr. Birch is further evident, from an octavo hand-bill I have received, and of which I copy nearly the whole. It is clear, by the persons’ names annexed to it, that Mr. Birch not only sells and gives away his false accounts of the Ringwood cases in London ; but also in “ Bath, Southampton, Bedford, Edinburgh, York, Canterbury, Gloucester, Swansea, Holyhead, Dublin, Cork,” &c. &c. The effect of largely distributing this insidious hand-bill, even if nobody could see the base pamphlet to which it refers, I really conceive must ultimately be of the most lamentable and injurious tendency to the British nation : *viz.*

“ This day is published, *price one shilling*, A Letter from John Birch, Esq. to the Editor of the ‘ Fatal Effects of Cow-pox at Ringwood, Missenden, and other Places.’ In this publication are noticed, the parliamentary grant

“ of 30,000*l.* to Dr. Jenner, for an unsuccessful expe-  
 “ riment; a letter, proving the production of a new and  
 “ fatal appearance, called, *the vaccine ulcer*, described  
 “ by Astley Cooper, Esq. Surgeon of Guy’s Hospital,  
 “ &c. a letter from Mr. Westcott, of Ringwood,  
 “ proving the failures of the experiment at that place;  
 “ a list of those who died of cow-pox there; a list of  
 “ those who were defectively vaccinated, and took  
 “ small-pox afterward; and of those who died of small-  
 “ pox, after having been vaccinated, and assured of pro-  
 “ tection: a list of some failures under the treatment of  
 “ the Vice President of the Jennerian Institution; and  
 “ several recent cases. To which is added, an appendix:  
 “ including the accusations of the vaccine societies  
 “ against each other; and showing the fallacy, preva-  
 “ rication, and subtilty of the Ringwood Report from  
 “ Salisbury Court, published under the authority of  
 “ Dr. Jenner.

“ Mr. Birch’s confirmation of the truth of the *Ring-*  
 “ *wood* misfortunes, as represented in this pamphlet, is  
 “ further authenticated by the following letter; the  
 “ truth of which the Editor defies the Jennerian Society  
 “ to contradict: and how Dr. Jenner’s and Mr. Rose’s  
 “ friends dare assert that the experiment failed in no one  
 “ instance, where the person was fairly vaccinated, is  
 “ left for impartial judges to determine. Certain it is,  
 “ the medical men were obliged to go armed with  
 “ pistols, fearing the rage of the populace at Ringwood.

“ *Extract of a Letter from Mrs. Hannah Hannam,*  
 “ *a Farmer’s Wife, at Ashly, near Ringwood, to her*  
 “ *Brother, Mr. George Mitchell, Perfumer, Orange*  
 “ *Street, Red Lion Square:*

‘ Mr. Westcott’s and Mr. Macilwain’s assertions I  
 ‘ can prove to be false, from a great number of in-



‘stances; one of which is, Mrs. Pardy and Miss Foot,  
 ‘two elderly females, removed from the town (before  
 ‘the inoculation commenced) to Holt Lodge, seven  
 ‘miles distant from the town. After residing there  
 ‘four or five weeks they were both vaccinated; Miss  
 ‘Foot died, and Mrs. Pardy remained there till Mr.  
 ‘Westcott assured her she might return home, as she  
 ‘was out of all danger. She had been home some time,  
 ‘when she caught the small-pox, but got over it.—  
 ‘Another instance: Mr. William Ward removed from  
 ‘the town to Winkton, where Mr. Macilwain vacci-  
 ‘nated him, and told him he might go any where, for  
 ‘he would forfeit his life if he was not as safe as him-  
 ‘self. He removed home. After he had been at home  
 ‘some time he caught the small-pox, and died. Mr.  
 ‘Daniel Week’s wife the same.

‘Mr. Robert Burgess died of *the cow-pox only*! His  
 ‘arm mortified.—I have mentioned these in particular,  
 ‘because you know them, and I could mention a great  
 ‘number more; and one half of those that did well  
 ‘would have lost their lives for want of attendance, had  
 ‘it not been for the very Thatcher (not Thresher) they  
 ‘speak so much against. The greatest part of their  
 ‘parents sent for him, and he lost but one of the whole  
 ‘number he inoculated; and that was owing to her get-  
 ‘ting wet through, just as the small-pox was coming out.  
 ‘This you may depend upon as the naked truth.’

“ CASE.

“ W. Howard, clerk of the parish in Bucks, wished  
 “ to have his wife and children inoculated, but was per-  
 “ suaded by the Doctor and the Clergyman to have them  
 “ vaccinated, with matter sent to the Clergyman from  
 “ the *Jennerian Society*. The Doctor assured them they  
 “ were safe from ever having the small-pox. They came

“ to settle in London, and lived not far from the Rev.  
 “ Rowland Hill’s chapel. His wife caught the small-pox  
 “ the 12th of February last, and died. Two children  
 “ caught the small-pox from their mother, and recovered.

“ Abundance of fresh cases occur every week ; and  
 “ the public prints begin to announce them.”

It is extremely humiliating to find, that there are persons who have had a liberal education, some acquaintance with truly respectable gentlemen, and fill professional offices which ought never to be conferred on men of untried reputation—that such persons, forgetting their rank in society, and wholly unmindful of consequences, should act as if they had no character to lose, nor any honour to sustain in the world ! It would indeed be truly surprising, if it were not so common, to see how easily certain people are duped by groundless tales, who nevertheless affect to be very incredulous and circumspect !

I shall dwell but little on the above statement “ from Mrs. Hannah Hannam”—which is said to authenticate Mr. Birch’s account of the Ringwood misfortunes, because it contains at least two manifest falsehoods : 1st, That an elderly woman named Foot was vaccinated, and died in consequence ; 2dly, That Robert Burgess died of the cow-pox only, his arm having mortified. I have already refuted these assertions, coming from another quarter (pp. 110, 112), by the evidence of two medical practitioners who attended the patients. If Mrs. Hannam, the Farmer’s wife, be a competent judge of the process of vaccination, and the causes of death in two individuals whom perhaps she did not see at the time of their decease ; then let Mr. Birch’s “ hear-say evidence,” which he tells us he “ never admits,” be considered as deserving of attention. Otherwise, I

think he only exposes himself and his correspondents to public ridicule.

The fact is, I can make out a much more plausible statement of failures than Mr. Birch has published, even with the help of this Farmer's wife; but then I should imitate him, by suppressing the opposite evidence, which alone clears up the real truth, and establishes the credit of vaccination.

If I were to turn to the notes made by two Members of Parliament and four medical gentlemen, on the very spot, it would be easy to reply to a great variety of the particular cases alleged as failures at Ringwood: but this would occupy more time and space than I now can afford, as my volume already has swelled to a goodly size, and I know that such minute details would never satisfy unreasonable objectors.

The detached case which appears at the bottom of Mr. Birch's hand-bill, of Mrs. HOWARD's death, has been published in a London newspaper of March 17th. I shall only say, that as I can prove some part of the narrative to be untrue, it is probable some other parts are so likewise \*. I do not accuse the unhappy widower of having published a wilful misrepresentation; far from it: but I lately found, on conversing with him, that Dr. Moseley and Mr. Birch had humanely commiserated

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\* THE MATTER did not come from the "Jennerian Society," as is stated in the advertisement; but from Dr. George Pearson's Original Vaccine-pock Institution, in Broad Street, Golden Square. Mr. Norris informs me so, by a letter of the 18th of March, dated at Risborough, Bucks. He says, the parcel of matter was sealed with the impression of that Institution, and the motto "*Feliciores inserit.*" Mr. Norris had vaccinated about 300 persons previous to Mrs. Howard, ALL of whom he believes are "unsusceptible of small-pox contagion." He alludes to the prejudices at Missenden, which is near Risborough.

his situation, and that he could not (perhaps from gratitude to his visitors) be prevailed on by me to withhold the case till I obtained an answer from the Country-Surgeon, who was said to have vaccinated his family. My chief doubt is, respecting the reality and correctness of the *vaccine* process. It was Mr. Howard who sent me the octavo hand-bill, above-mentioned.

*April 1st.* Just as I was closing my volume, I sent to Mr. Bruce, Round Court, Strand, for "Mr. BIRCH'S "NEW COW-POX CHRONICLE," which he promised to publish this day. (See pages 64 to 74, my conversation on the subject.) It was immediately purchased for sixpence; and Mr. Bruce told my servant that Mr. Birch had reproached him violently this morning for not selling more, adding, "that he himself had already disposed of "two hundred."—Mr. Bruce stated further, that Mr. Birch used his name as publisher to the former Chronicle without any authority, and that he now had omitted it. So I find: for there is no other imprint to this number than "Chalmers, Printer and Publisher, "15, Broadway, Queen Square, Westminster; and "sold by all the Booksellers in Town and Country. "Price Sixpence.—To be continued Quarterly."

This Chronicle is of the same complexion as the first; and contains, indeed, many of the identical paragraphs published before. It pretends, that the courts of Europe "will laugh at the wisdom of our P—rl—t;" and that "the College of Physicians have displayed "their cunning, by concealing their own opinion and "publishing those of other Colleges." It alleges, that "the Small-pox Hospital is in future to be confined to "the inoculation and care of that disorder *alone*." It also declares, "That Robert Burgess (at Ringwood) "died of a mortification from the vaccine puncture." How is the last assertion to be reconciled with Mr.



Birch's repeated pretence, of that patient having died  
 " of the vaccine ulcer ?"

Several passages are contained in this Chronicle, which I recognised in the Appendix to his Ringwood Narrative; and the false charge is renewed about the Gloucester Regiment, &c. But, I shall take no further trouble to expose this author's folly and assurance, than by subjoining a few extracts:

" The Collège of Physicians have taken the hint from the *Cow-pox Chronicle*, and have selected an able Licentiate to assist them in their future Reports. We may now expect to have their publications *Cook'd* up in a refined and delicate taste, and their *sauce* so piquant that the *ignorant* and *designing* Critics shall be able to relish and digest it, without being forced to have recourse to *Bitters*.

" The reception of the medical gentleman who was dispatched to Ringwood, for a more satisfactory investigation of the fatal effects which resulted from the practice of vaccination lately at that place was truly alarming. The persons who were to furnish him with the intelligence entered the room, armed with swords and pistols; and explained the reason of this military defence to be, their fears of the enraged populace, who would take a bloody revenge on them, if they did not thus protect themselves.

" By this we may account for Dr. J—n—r not choosing to risk his presence at that place. With such *fears* and such *defective* experiments, he could not have slept upon a bed of *Roses*.

" The Gloucestershire Regiment while encamped on Beckshill was vaccinated by matter sent by Dr. J. but it proved *defective*, for the small-pox seized many of the soldiers a short time after.

" But at Ringwood in Hants, the dreadful stroke has been given; the particulars of which are faithfully painted in a small shilling pamphlet called *The Fatal Effects of Cow-pox, &c.*

" According to the title of the last Report, the patronage of their Majesties and the Royal Family appear to have been withdrawn from the Royal Jennerian Society; and we hope Dr. Jenner himself is not answerable for the Ringwood Report, as he prudently withheld himself from the investigation of those fatal occurrences."

To refute Mr. Birch's false intimation and calumny, I subjoin the *Royal* and *Illustrious* names which are *bona fide* now belonging to this Society:

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VICE-PATRONS.

H. R. H. the Prince of Wales.  
 H. R. H. the Duke of York.  
 H. R. H. the Duke of Clarence.  
 H. R. H. the Duke of Cumberland.  
 H. R. H. the Duke of Cambridge.  
 H. R. H. the Duke of Gloucester.

VICE-PATRONESSES.

H. R. H. the Princess of Wales.  
 H. R. H. the Duchess of York.  
 H. R. H. the Princess Sophia Augusta.  
 H. R. H. the Princess Elizabeth.  
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